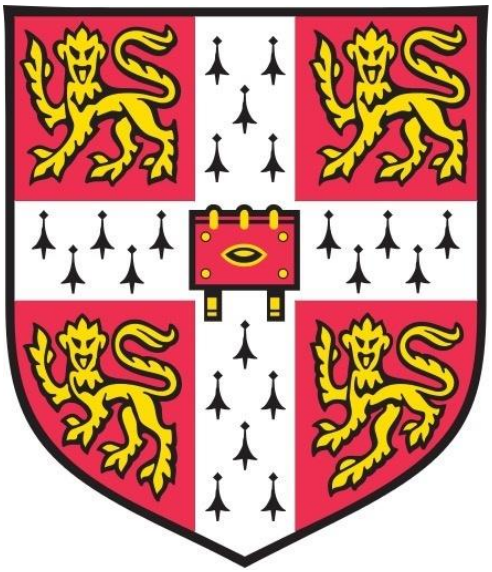
Bilinguals' Emotion and Language: An Exploratory Study of Korean-English Bilinguals' Experience of and Expression of Shame



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This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Preface

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any work that has already been submitted before for any degree or other qualification except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the Degree Committee for the Faculty of Education.

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M K Kim

Abstract

A major aim of this study was to investigate Korean-English bilingual students' psychological experiences and verbal expressions of shame in Korean and English. In particular, this study focused on how English as a language of Education influences the ways in which University students acknowledge and express their feelings.

A total of 41 Korean L1 students in both UK and South Korean Universities where English is used as a medium of instruction (EMI) participated in this study. The analyses included both quantitative and qualitative methods, using data from two sets of questionnaires. The Assessment of Self-Conscious Emotion (AoSCE) collected the participants' verbal responses, whereas the Test of Self-Conscious Narrative (ToSCN) examined their behaviour and psychological reactions. Both sets of questionnaires had ten identical scenarios that potentially evoke shame as well as guilt, which are often experienced independently or concurrently. Participants completed both questionnaires online in English and Korean in a randomised order.

Using content analysis techniques, the participants' English and Korean narratives were utilised to explore the verbal expressions of shame and guilt (Study I). Using statistical analysis techniques, the relationships between the psychological and behavioural aspects of shame were examined in comparison with guilt in the English-speaking and Korean-speaking contexts (Study II). After reviewing the findings from these two analyses, a case study on classroom behaviour was carried out based on one of the ten scenarios from the questionnaire. The data regarding this scenario were triangulated and investigated in detail, whilst considering the educational and cultural contexts of the participants (Study III).

Overall, this study provided a platform for discovering the dynamics of emotion and language in Korean-English bilinguals' shame experiences and expressions. This research addresses a gap in the literature as it highlights the impact of the English language for non-native English-speaking students' emotions in Higher Education, which is an under-researched topic.

Acknowledgment

I very gratefully acknowledge the invaluable contributions of Professors, colleagues, faculty staff, friends, family, reviewers and especially the participants of this study.

Special thanks go to Professor Neil Mercer for his insightful supervision in encouraging my own unique thoughts on the subject. His invaluable guidance and support inspired me to become a professional and ethical researcher. I am also grateful to Professor Michael Evans, my academic advisor for his pastoral care and academic guidance. The support and advice that Dr Sasha Turchyn and the graduate office showed me in my final academic year of my PhD will never be forgotten, yet will be the drive for me to care for other young intellectuals. I am fortunate for finding Trinity Hall which provided me with both mental and physical shelter during my time at Cambridge.

I would also like to thank my Cambridge family, Homa Majd, Jae Lee, Zeina Hasna, Sarah Moody, Kris Lee, Anna Jespersen, Cristine Sortica, Hyunkyung Lee, and House B mates. Joon Kim, Haeree Shim and Toshi Tsuruhara prepared me for my Viva examination and the final step of this journey. Literally, I could not have come this far without you all.

Most importantly, I thank my mother who has been by my side throughout this long winded journey. She has and continues to dedicate her life to improve the inclusion of mental health in Education in South Korea, provide opportunities to underprivileged students and create intellectual communities for female students. My thesis is the first stepping stone in following her footsteps.

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List of Abbreviation

AoSCN	Assessment of Self-Conscious Narrative
EMI	English as the main medium of instruction
FL	Foreign language
ICC	Intra-class correlation coefficient
IRR	Inter-rater reliability
Korea	South Korea
L1	First language
L2	Language obtained later than the first language
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OET	Oxford English Thesaurus
RQ1	Research Question 1
RQ2	Research Question 2
RQ3	Research Question 3
ToSCE	Test of Self-Conscious Emotion
UK	The United Kingdom
US	The United States

CHAPTER 1 Introduction

1.1 Problem Statement

When you do something wrong and realise others are watching you, you might blush with the feeling of guilt or shame. Such a feeling might make you want to leave the situation immediately or try to do something to rectify it. This research topic's focal point is the experience of self-conscious emotions, especially focusing on shame and its behavioural and verbal reactions. This thesis is broadly shaped by my academic background in Educational Psychology, but it is my professional experience of teaching English as a foreign or second language that rooted my inspiration. I was under the impression I was showcasing my expertise in understanding moral emotions in education, until a student asked me a question that puzzled me and left me temporarily speechless.

I was teaching English in the United States to Korean oversees students who were undertaking their university studies with no prior experience of education in English or limited exposure to the English-speaking contexts. A student asked me, "How do you say *jjok-pal-lim* in English?". I paused. My student and I became frustrated as I did not provide an answer immediately. My frustration was doubled when he asked me again, "Oh, you don't know the English word for *jjok-pal-lim*, do you?"

I was shocked that I struggled with finding a word for *Jjok-pal-lim*. First, *Jjok-pal-lim* is a commonly used term for feeling ashamed (*soo-chi* or *chang-pi*) in Korean that I often use. Because the academic project I was working at that time was on the function of self-conscious emotions, I thought I should know how to translate such a word. I was embarrassed that he asked this question, and my embarrassment was exacerbated when both my student and I thought that I should be able to provide an appropriate English word on demand. Being unable to find an appropriate word to describe one's emotion in the language he or she uses is troubling; James (1980) in *The Principles of Psychology* wrote:

> If one should seek to name each particular one (of the emotions) of which the human heart is at seat, it is plain that the limit to their number would lie in the introspective vocabulary of the seeker, each race of men having found names for some shades of feeling which other races have left undiscriminated. (p. 299)

In other words, while it is true that English speakers also experience situations where Korean speakers would say *Jjok-pal-lim*, both my student and I found it challenging to find the matching word to describe such a feeling in English. It was the untranslatability of this

Korean emotive vocabulary that led me to research the verbal aspect of self-conscious emotions. After acknowledging a substantial gap between my research and teaching practice; I decided that a way to bridge this gap would be to look at the non-academic use of English by those who become fluent in English through education, mainly focusing on the experience and expression of shame among Korean students for whom English is a second or foreign language.

Shame is such an intense negative emotion that talking about it may itself generate a further shameful experience. In Korean, there are multiple words to describe shame such as *jjok-pal-lim*, *min-mang*, or *chang-pi* (which are all literally translated as 'ashamed' in English), all of which are used in everyday conversation to express one's own, or another's, experiences of shame. If talking about shame is common for Korean speakers, one can assume how frustrating it might be when Korean students come to English-speaking countries such as the United Kingdom (hereafter the UK) or the United States (hereafter the US) for higher education, and try to express their experience of shame in English.

Translating emotion across languages is difficult (Pavlenko, 2009; Wierzbicka 1992; Balint, 1979). Grosjean (2012) points out that many bilingual speakers lack translation skills because language fluency is domain-specific. He gives an example of a French-English bilingual statistician who becomes frustrated when he had to find French words for 'standard deviation' or 'scattergram' when talking about statistics in French, because he had learned and used these terms in English only. Such an episode can be understood by those students in higher education who acquire new academic concepts and vocabularies in their non-native languages. As education in English becomes more popular, understanding the issues with these students will shed light on how using English as an academic language shapes the learners' emotional life in two languages.

This lack of translation skills also implies that if shame is shaped and pervasively used in the Korean-speaking culture but not in the English-speaking culture, bicultural bilingual Korean-English speakers who grew up in the UK might feel no need to translate the relevant terms, as talking about shame in English is not as common as in Korean. However, my student demonstrated that there can be a linguistic hurdle for international students from South Korea (hereafter Korea) to express shame in English, which might become a challenge for them. The struggle that my student showed when he wanted to express *jjok-pal-lim* in English, and my frustration when I did not have a satisfactory answer for him, together demonstrate that the degree to which English as a second language shapes Korean international students' daily emotional narratives is a legitimate topic for research, as well as

being an ontological issue for them. Prior studies have shown that bilingual speakers express emotions differently depending on which language they are using (Panayiotou, 2004a; Panayiotou 2004b, Ervin-Tripp, 1968 & 1973). If words and phrases commonly used to express their emotion are hard to express in English or indeed untranslatable, Korean-English bilingual students might generate different emotional narratives based on the language they speak, which is relevant to the conceptual non-equivalence in emotion across languages and cultures (Pavlenko, 2009; Ożańska-Ponikwia 2016; Wierzbicka 1992).

1.2 Focus Statement

This research explores how Korean students who become fluent in English largely through their education in English, experience and express their emotion in two languages. Such students are considered as a particular type of bilingual who deserve more attention in educational psychology. Therefore, this study looks at their shame and shame-related narratives in both languages, and seeks to understand how they cope with shame experiences by comparing their English and Korean narratives.

If bilinguals' emotional experience and expression is dependent on the language that they use and influenced by the cultural contexts they are situated in, how would Korean-English bilingual students in the UK and in Korea react when they experience shame? What would the similarities and differences between the two groups reveal about the lived experience and cognition of bilinguals? Bilinguals' inappropriate verbal reaction in their less competent language may cause misunderstandings and further problems which might result in social segregation in multi-cultural contexts, which in turn may also affect the ways in which they make sense of their worlds and their identities. Shame is chosen as a target emotion because it is a highly sensitive but yet culturally shaped emotion, which may require a sophisticated deployment of language.

This study, therefore, is a novel attempt to explore the issue of bilingualism from a distinctive perspective. A mixed method design was employed in order to collect detailed information from individual bilingual speakers and to allow multifaceted exploration of multiple data sources. Given cross-linguistic and cross-cultural diversities in emotional narratives, this study's overarching research question is as follows: How do Korean-English bilingual students express their emotion in shame-inducing situations in Korean and English? To establish the foundations for responding to this question, the next section introduces the target population of this study.

1.3 Target Population

Bilingualism refers to the ability to speak two languages and can be defined in many ways because it is a multi-dimensional phenomenon (Hammers and Blanc, 2000). Researchers define bilingual speakers differently based on their research interests. Among the wider population of individuals who can function in both Korean and English, the *Korean-English* bilinguals in this research are those for whom Korean is their first acquired language (L1) and English is either their second language (L2) learned and used in an English-speaking cultural context or their foreign language (FL) learned and used in a non-English-speaking cultural context. To make a distinction where necessary between the individuals described above, and those who acquired the two languages in the reversed order, the latter are called *English-Korean* bilinguals, to demonstrate that English is their L1.

The target population of this study has been defined according to their current educational context in relation to the language culture within, and refers specifically to Korean-English bilingual students who enrolled in a degree programme in which English is used as a medium of instruction. In other words, the target population includes Korean L1 university students who use English as their L2 or FL, which reflects their current educational setting. The English as L2 students are those who go to the universities in countries where English is predominantly used in respective societies as well as in the universities while the English as FL students are those who go to the universities in Korea where English is the main medium of instruction (EMI). Such a difference is also aligned to the broader cultural setting: either the UK or Korea. While I acknowledge the contextual differences between the Korean overseas students in English-speaking countries and those enrolled in EMI universities in Korea, students in both educational settings are exposed to the English-speaking environment as part of their education, and their English proficiency is likely to be the educational outcome, which suggests that both groups are likely to become Korean-English bilinguals despite the contextual differences. Given that this research focuses on the effect of educational contexts, more information is provided about Korean overseas students who are studying within an English-speaking culture and Korean students in the EMI universities in Korea who are embedded in the Korean-speaking culture in Section 1.3.2 and Section 1.3.3 respectively. Firstly, however, a current status of the use of the Korean and English languages in South Korea is summarised in Section 1.3.1.

1.3.1 Korean as a national language and English as a foreign language. It might be useful to start with an overview of Korean as a national language in Korea with a growing emphasis on learning English. Under the Japanese Imperial occupation between 1910 and 1945, the use of Korean language was forbidden. Once Korea achieved independence, the country tried to revive the Korean language and eradicate the influence of Japanese language and culture. Such an attitude frames anti-bilingualism and anti-biculturalism as national propaganda, which suggests that language for Koreans refers to an ethnic, cultural, or national identity that is closely related to the sense of belonging that differentiates Koreans from other communities. The Korean language, therefore, might have its own special meaning and power for Koreans, to make them feel united. Indeed, Korea has traditionally been regarded as a monolingual and monocultural country (Park, 2013). Under these circumstances, the Korean language has been a strong contributing factor to Korean identity, while English is seen as the "language of an Other" (Park, 2009, p 26). Rüdiger (2018) provided supporting evidence for this view, as Koreans still hold a predominantly negative or mixed attitude towards the use of English loanwords.

While such a negative view of English has been changed to positive among the public, policies have not followed such a shift. The Ministry of Korean Education (2014) announced *the Special Act on the Normalization of Public Education Article 8*, which regulates all forms of learning ahead for the coming school year in both public and private sectors, including pre-school education and after-school programmes. The Ministry of Education believes that learning ahead widens the educational attainment gaps between students of high and low Social Economic Status (SES), and thus prohibits students from learning before the school curriculum in order to close this gap.

Since English is introduced in Year 3 (ages 8-9), this Special Act bans schools from providing any classes for and in English in Years 1 and 2, including extracurricular classes. This Act also prohibits private after-school programmes and tutoring service providers from advertising any 'headstart' programmes. While current in-school extracurricular provision for English as a foreign language is temporarily allowed as the new government is in control, when the Special Act on the Normalization of Public Education is effective, no English classes shall be offered at school before Year 3, and the private educational sectors will be further limited regarding English teaching.

In support of this Special Act on the Normalization of Public Education Article 8 are academics who argue that it is harmful to introduce a new language before first language mastery is complete. Limiting access to English learning in Korea, however, might promote

alternative ways of learning English, including study abroad programmes. This is even true for students above Year 3, because while governments want all students to learn English at the same level, it is unlikely that the official English curriculum will prepare them for EMI universities.

1.3.2 Korean overseas students. A *yoo-hak-sang* (overseas student in Korean) is a typical type of Korean-English bilingual, one who is born and raised in Korea and then goes abroad for the sake of education. Previously, *yoo-hak-sang* referred to students in the degree programmes in higher education. More recently, parents of primary and secondary school students have come to promote the immersion style of English language education, which includes sending their children to boarding schools in the US or the UK. Doing so sometimes involves mothers moving with their children to a well-reputed education district in the US or the UK in the hope of securing academic success, with fathers tending to remain in Korea for financial reasons (Onish, 2008; Lee, 2004; Kim, 2011). As a result, Koreans have represented one of the largest proportions of active student visas held in the US, comprising 14.3% of the total student visa holders in the United States, followed by India (11.2%) and China (8.8%) (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2006). This number has continued to grow each year, and reached over 91,500 in 2014 (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2014). In the UK, there were 19,000 Koreans with student visas in 2011 (Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011), and 13,464 students in 2013 even after the restrictions in the UK student visa policy was introduced (Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013).

The overall number of Korean overseas students in English-speaking countries is still significant for both Korea and hosting countries. Among the top ten host countries, Table 1.1 lists the number and proportion of Korean overseas students in the English-speaking countries only (Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017). Those in the English-speaking countries are about half of all Korean students aboard in both years.

Table 1.1

The Number and Percentage of Korean Overseas Students in the English-speaking Countries

	The US	The UK	Australia	Canada	New Zealand	The Philippines	Total
2016							
Number	63,710	11,885	16,251	10,889	4,051	3,772	110,558
Percentage	28.5	5.3	7.3	4.9	1.8	1.7	49.0
2017							
Number	61,007	11,065	16,770	8,735	6,060	13,257	116,894
Percentage	25.4	4.6	7.0	3.6	2.5	5.5	49.0

The ways in which these Korean overseas students govern their two languages are different from those who grow up using two languages simultaneously in these countries. For example, a Korean girl who was born and raised in the UK or came to the UK with her family early in life may have Korean as both her mother tongue and as a home language. However, English would be the main language that she has been using in the wider community to socialise, and it would be also the language of her education. Much research on bilingualism has been carried out targeting such bicultural-bilingual speakers for whom English is their dominant language throughout their lives, while their L1 remains their home language.

Korean overseas students, however, are born and raised in Korea and come to English-speaking countries on a student visa for education purposes. While the age of arrival might vary, their primary reason for leaving their home country is education in the host country. They usually come alone while their family stays in Korea. Many of them are likely to become literate in Korean before coming to the host country, but English replaces Korean as the educational language in their later lives. They usually go back to Korea for the long summer vacation and the winter holidays, maintaining Korean as a social language up to a certain level. They regularly use English in the host country but when they visit Korea, they switch their main language to Korean. Therefore, the processes through which this population becomes bilingual is different from the traditional understanding of bicultural-bilinguals' upbringings, and it is their experience in the educational contexts that plays a considerable role in them becoming bilingual.

1.3.3 Korean students in Global colleges in South Korea. A growing population of Korean-English bilingual students is those who are enrolled at EMI universities in Korea. This phenomenon is relatively new and has not been thoroughly researched or evaluated in either the Korean or international setting. Such EMI education in Korea is becoming popular at both undergraduate and postgraduate level in recognised universities. Ewha Women's University started the very first undergraduate degree programme by establishing Educating Global Leaders, Division of International Studies in 2001 (Ewha University, 2017). Other recognised research universities followed in its footsteps. Korea University set up similar degree programmes in 2002, followed by Hanyang in 2004, Kyung Hee in 2005, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in 2005, and Yonsei in 2006. Lesser recognised universities also hosted English only programmes. Handong University changed its name to Handong Global University in 2001 and started offering courses taught in English across all undergraduate programmes (Handong University, 2009). Hannam University launched a new

programme called Linton School of Global Business, formerly known as Linton Global College established in 2005.

In this study the term 'global college' is henceforth used when referring to such degree programmes offered in English in Korean universities. The reason the term "global" is deemed preferable to "international" is because when the first two universities – Ewha and Handong – started EMI programmes, they emphasised global leadership as the primary goal of such programmes aiming to educate Korean students in English to become globally-engaged intellectual leaders; such an agenda continued to be the main focus in other universities. For example, the main website of Hannam University's Linton Global College starts with following sentences: "Still thinking about going abroad to study? Instead, why don't you come to Hannam University's Linton Global College?" (Linton Global College, 2013). At the outset, the majority of students in these global colleges were Korean, although the cohorts have since expanded to include international students.

With increasing emphasis on English language skills being an essential of higher education, more and more young Koreans are becoming bilingual through EMI education, including short-term abroad programmes during the summer and winter vacation periods. However, neither the effect of learning in English on Korean-L1 students nor the evaluation of EMI education on English-FL students has been critically examined or rigorously researched, while the replacement of the dominant language to English has already become part of many Korean students' lives.

1.3.4 Originality of target population. Because the most apparent differences between Korean overseas students and Korean students in global colleges are the cultural contexts in which they are situated, the comparison of these two types of Korean-English bilinguals unpacks the tangled relationship between language and culture, which not many studies have attempted. In the study of bilingualism, the contexts in which bilinguals are situated cannot be artificially controlled, and much research therefore often includes biculturalism as an uncontrollable factor. The two existing groups in this study, however, are highly comparable in many ways and, thus, are appropriate for noting the effect of English as the educational language, while the effect of culture can be revealed at a different level. Therefore, in having these two pre-existing groups to compare, I aim to provide explanations about the relationship between language and culture in the study of bilingualism, and the effect of educational context on becoming fluent in English. While studies of bilinguals in primary and secondary education are also necessary and important, university students were chosen to be the target population because their experience and expressions of emotion have

already been shaped through using Korean in the Korean-speaking context, and are transformed later in their lives through their frequent use of English.

Assessing their emotion-related narratives in English and Korean inevitably requires consideration of culture. Korean overseas students are required to use English in the English-speaking cultural context (i.e., American or British culture). Many of them, especially when they first arrive in an English-speaking country, show relatively poor English-speaking ability compared to their skills in the other language domains, i.e. reading, listening, and writing. This often seems to lead to undesirable consequences when these students, who often have excellent scores on academic English tests such as the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), the International English language test system (IELTS), the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), or the Graduate Record Examinations (GRE), feel vulnerable when communicating in English. Many of these students eventually become fluent speakers of English. One of the benefits of overseas education is the significant improvement of students' foreign language skills, including communication skills in the target language (Carlson, Burn, Useem, & Yachimowicz, 1990; Stansfield, 1975; Freed, 1995). However, their emotion-related narratives are rarely studied or examined as a research topic either before, during, or after their degree programmes, although such speaking skills might be crucial to becoming fluent in spoken English. Therefore, through the exploration of the Korean overseas students' language use, this study might be able to identify key factors that influence their emotion-related narratives, and understand developmental pathways of becoming Korean-English bilinguals through education in English-speaking countries.

On the other hand, Korean students in global colleges speak English within the Korean cultural context. For example, according to a student in Handong Global University in 2014, there were only one or two non-Korean student(s) in his classes. While Korean overseas students become bicultural and comfortable with communicating in English within the corresponding cultural setting, students in a global college were seldom affected by the direct influence of American, British, or other English-speaking culture.

1.3.5 Personal perspective. While such a unique educational pathway towards Korean-English bilingualism is academically intriguing and socially demanding, if the researcher is not capable of understanding both languages and cultures, the overall quality of research may be brought into question (Pavlenko, 2005). As a researcher, I find it appropriate to conduct research on Korean-English bilinguals' emotion as I share the target population's trajectory of becoming bilingual. I learned English mainly through formal education growing up in Korea until I completed my undergraduate degree. I then started using English more

regularly in the US and now in the UK as an overseas student. In short, this research topic is inspired and informed both by my previous academic work and educational history, and the nexus between the two demonstrated the necessity for further investigation, as there have not been many studies looking at the emotional experiences and expressions of the Korean-English bilingual students.

1.4 Organisation of This Study

Chapter 2: Literature Review provides the academic background for studying Korean-English bilinguals' shame, and presents three research questions. Chapter 3: Methodology and Data Analysis illustrates how this study was set up, introducing data collection and data analysis methods. Chapters 4 to 6 show the results of data analysis according to the research questions (Chapter 4 for research question 1, Chapter 5 for research question 2 and Chapter 6 for research question 3). Chapter 7 discusses findings and limitations of the research, followed by Chapter 8, the conclusion of this study.

CHAPTER 2 Literature Review

This study of Korean-English bilinguals' shame has been shaped through an interdisciplinary literature review on bilingualism and emotion from the fields of psychology, education, and linguistics. This chapter is organised based on the two themes, bilingualism and shame, and the interaction between the two. When looking at the research on these, the inevitable influence of culture, especially with the regards to the English-speaking and Korean-speaking culture on the target participants' language use and emotion, is also discussed. Three research questions with hypotheses to be tested are generated based on the literature review.

2.1 Understanding Bilingualism

Understanding the role of bilingualism in emotion must start with how bilingualism is defined in this study, by considering the myriad of social and cultural contexts that are intertwined with the languages bilinguals use. By considering such aspects into research design and implementation, discovering how English as their L2 influences the Korean-English bilinguals' emotion – specifically shame – can be achieved.

2.1.1 Bilinguals vs. monolinguals. Some scholars define bilinguals as those who have full fluency in two languages in the way the monolinguals do, by focusing on language proficiency (Bloomfield, 1933), while others take a pragmatic perspective and assert that bilinguals are those who can function in both languages according to the needs in their daily lives (Grosjean, 1989). This study adopts Grosjean's functional approach that languages are learned and used for different purposes. A striking point that Grosjean (2008) made regarding bilingualism is that a bilingual should not be understood as two monolinguals in one body. Such a perspective on bilingualism also assumes that the two languages bilinguals use are not independent but interconnected influencing on how they conceptualise and express their emotions.

Studies on envy and jealousy among the speakers of Russian and English have revealed that they are two separate emotional concepts that are used exclusively in Russian, while their boundaries are blurred in English (Stepanova Sachs & Coley, 2006; Pavlenko, 2009; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). Jealousy is an emotion that is felt in 'a situation where a person fears losing an important relationship with another person to a rival', while envy is an emotion that occurs in 'a situation where a person lacks another's superior quality, achievement, opportunity or possession and either desires it or wishes that the other lacked it'

(Parrott & Smith, 1993 as cited in Stepanova Sachs & Coley, 2006, p 238). Stepanova Sachs and Coley (2006) found out that monolingual Russian speakers applied the word *zaviduet* (envious) to envy stories and *revnuet* (jealous) to jealousy stories, while monolingual English speakers used the word jealous to describe both types of stories and envious to describe envy stories.

Stepanova Sachs and Coley's (2006) study on envy/jealousy among English and Russian speakers included Russian–English bilinguals who had learned English in their teens or later in their lives. Bilinguals tested in Russian provided similar answers to Russian monolinguals, while bilinguals tested in English provided similar answers to English monolinguals. In other words, the first part of their experiment revealed that, at the performance level, bilinguals performed similar to English/Russian monolinguals in the corresponding language. However, in the non-linguistic tests, monolingual Russian speakers tended to differentiate between the contexts of jealousy and envy, while all other English speakers were more likely to put them into the same category. That is, Russian–English bilinguals tested in Russian demonstrated that their conceptualisation of these two emotions was different from Russian monolinguals. With the result that the fluent speakers of English perceived envy and jealousy situations to be similar in the other cognitive task, Stepanova Sachs and Coley suggested that the process of becoming Russian-English bilinguals may have had the conceptual consequence of highlighting similarities between envy and jealousy. In other words, bilinguals' familiarity with the English way of labelling jealousy and envy could have highlighted the similarity between them, thus altering bilinguals' conceptualisation of these emotions.

Stepanova Sachs and Coley (2006) demonstrate that how bilinguals experience and express their thoughts and feelings, therefore, can be qualitatively different from the ways monolinguals do, and for this reason, it is possible that not all research on monolinguals can be applied to bilinguals. For example, when Korean-English bilinguals express their feelings in English, they may activate the English-related networks and inhibit the Korean-related one while the networks for conceptualisation are constantly activated in relation to both languages.

Monolingualism to bilingualism. Much research has focused on how bilinguals' language and cognitive development are different from those of monolinguals, with a particular focus on language development. One such area is the size of vocabulary. For example, Pearson, Fernandez, and Oller (1993) studied children aged between 8 and 30 months, and revealed that the average vocabulary score of bilinguals was about half that of

monolinguals in each language. However, the bilinguals' vocabulary sizes become similar to those of monolinguals when the scores from both languages are added together. Bialystok et al. (2010) studied children aged from 3 to 10 years, and revealed that the gap in vocabulary size between monolinguals and bilinguals continued to exist. However, when an alternative measurement was used, bilingual children were significantly more sensitive to conversational rules than monolingual children (Siegal, Iozzi & Surian, 2009; Siegal et al., 2010). These studies show that when monolingual children's development is used as a benchmark, bilingual children's development can be perceived as slow or impeded, while studies taking bilingual children as a reference point counterargue that bilingual children are not inferior to monolinguals, but that they take a different route in language development.

Research has also revealed that bilinguals' comprehension and production of speech involves more complex cognitive processes than monolinguals because the suppressed language influences bilinguals' speech in the activated language (Colome, 2001; Costa, Miozzo, & Caramazza, 1999; Hernández, Bates, & Avila, 1996; Kroll, Bobb, Misra, & Guo, 2008). While research on how bilinguals manage conflicting concepts and expressions between the two languages is still inconclusive, bilinguals tend to have high executive control abilities (such as inhibition, switching attention, and working memory) which enable them to manage the interference of the dual linguistic network system, demonstrated by comparison with monolinguals (Bialystok, Craik, & Luk, 2012). Other studies on cognitive development support this view, as bilingual children showed enhanced executive control, which is deliberate control of thought, action, and emotion, compared to monolingual children. (Carlson & Meltzoff, 2008; Bialystok, 1999; Morales et al., 2012; Poarch & Van Hell, 2012).

Although bilinguals may express their thoughts and feelings as monolinguals do, bilinguals' brains are inevitably engaged in resisting irrelevant information (Hernández, Costa, & Humphreys, 2012). Attempts were made to investigate which cognitive process causes bilinguals to benefit from the high function of executive control. Although changes at other levels have not been proven, it has been revealed that bilinguals' functional neural networks significantly change at the response-selection level (Kroll et al., 2008; Bialystok, Graik, & Ryan, 2006). When applying this to bilinguals' emotional experiences, it is likely to be at the response-selection level that bilinguals choose between conflicting options to express their emotions, and it might be their high executive control ability in this process that enables bilinguals to express their feelings appropriately (Carlson & Meltzoff, 2008; Kroll et al., 2008; Bialystok at al., 2006).

English L2/FL acquisition. No optimal condition for L2 acquisition is agreed on among research on L2 learning, and the optimal condition varies for different populations and according to learning contexts. Regarding L2 learners where English is spoken widely (L2-speaking setting), young L2 learners may have some advantages over old L2 learners when they have more opportunities to use the L2 with their peers (Carhill, Suárez-Orozco, & Páez, 2008). If the learners are from higher socioeconomic status homes (Reese, Gamier, Gallimore, and Goldenberg, 2000) or L2 is used at home (Duursma et al., 2007; Hammer, Lawrence, & Miccio, 2008; Quiroz et al., 2010), their academic English seems to be positively affected. For L2 learners in foreign language (FL) settings, explicit instruction about grammatical features of L2 is beneficial in L2 learning (White, Muñoz, and Collins, 2007). Using academic content to teach the L2 may be beneficial to L2 vocabulary acquisition (Wode, 1999) while intensity of L2 instruction makes less significant difference (Collins & White, 2011).

In the L2-speaking setting, arriving at a younger age in an L2-speaking community is known as a strong predictor of L2 acquisition, especially leading to stronger L2 oral skills and grammatical knowledge (Abrahamsson & Hyltenstam, 2009; Carhill et al., 2008). Further research, however, reveals that younger learners may have an ultimate attainment advantage (DeKeyser, Alfi-Shabtay, & Ravid, 2010) while older learners may demonstrate efficiency and rate advantages (Harley & Hart, 1997; MacSwan & Pray, 2005). In the FL setting, motivation is most widely studied factor for L2 learning in foreign language classroom setting (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2005). However, in Sparks, Patton, Ganschow, and Humbach's study (2009), learning aptitude was the strongest predictor of L2 spelling, reading comprehension, writing, and speaking and listening for students in the foreign language (FL) when factors were controlled for. Other factors including L2 anxiety (Sparks et al., 2009) and gender (Csizér and Dörnyei, 2005) seem to be also related to foreign language learning.

Individual variations exist among both L2 and FL learning settings. The positive influence of the length of the exposure to the English-speaking on the learners' L2 development was confirmed in Ożańska-Ponikwia and Dewaele's study (2012) showing that Polish immigrants in the UK and Ireland who have been abroad for a longer period described themselves as using the L2 more frequently and feeling more proficient in their L2. The study also revealed that the participants' L2 use can be predicted by Openness and Self-esteem of the 'Big Five' personality factors (Extraversion, Openness, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Neuroticism, Costa and McCrae, 1992), while Openness was also a

predictor of L2 proficiency. These findings are consistent with the individual differences in the outcome of study-abroad programmes (Kinginger, 2011). Studies on Extroversion and L2/FL success show mixed findings (Kiany, 1998), while extroverted students have advantages on FL learning because of their willingness to socialise with others (Ehrman & Oxford, 1995).

2.1.2 Bilinguals' language use. Grosjean (2008) states that "bilinguals usually acquire and use their language for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people. Different aspects of life often require different languages" (p. 2). This complementary principle on bilingualism is shaped by perspectives of bilinguals and their language use. This study adopts Grosjean's complementary principle on bilingualism, as this perspective acknowledges that bilinguals' emotional narratives can differ between the two language conditions depending on their life circumstance, and also allows acceptance of variation among bilinguals, variation which might be relevant to how they become bilingual.

Grosjean (2012) also notes that translation skills seem to be less related to language fluency in one or both language(s), and points out that many bilingual individuals lack translation skills because their language fluency is domain-specific. In other words, bilinguals often learn and use specific terms in one language only, which results in the lack of skill in translating to the other language. If shame is highly elaborated in the Korean-speaking culture resulting in rich vocabularies and sophisticated phrases, while it is not in the English-speaking culture, Korean-English bilinguals might struggle when they face a situation of translating a Korean shame word into English not necessarily because their grasp of one of their two languages is poor. Such lack of translation skills might not trouble their everyday lives if they find no need to translate a Korean shame word or express shame in English. The lack of bilinguals' translation skills, from this perspective, suggests that if shame is a cultural product that is reinforced to be cultivated and encouraged to be verbally expressed amongst Korean speakers but not English speakers, it is going to be those kind of bilinguals who feel the strong need to express shame in English in the way they do in Korean who struggle to express such an emotion in English. In particular, those who move to English-speaking cultures like the UK or start to use English later in their lives might be more prone to struggle with the lack of English verbal expression when they experience shame.

The occurrence of code-switching can also be understood from a similar perspective. Panayiotou (2004a, 2004b) and Pavlenko (2005; Pavlenko & Driagina, 2007) demonstrated that when bilinguals speak with another bilingual, they naturally code-switch for emotion words, as doing so is more appropriate for expressing their thoughts and feelings. If a

bilingual finds his or her poor translation skills troubling or feels less competent with one of the two languages that he or she speaks, this can create a problem quite unique to the bilingual experience.

Bilinguals' emotion word processing. If bilinguals learn and use languages according to the needs in their daily lives, their knowledge and usage of emotion words (vocabularies of direct emotional expressions) are likely to reflect such needs in each of the two languages. Traditionally, studies on L1 emotion word processing are conducted by L1 native speakers and have shown that it takes longer response time when processing emotion-evoking words than neutral words (Kousta et al., 2009; Scott, O'Donnell, Leuthold, & Sereno, 2009). Studies using the emotional Stroop task (e.g., McKenna & Sharma, 1995 & 2004) and other studies have frequently reported slower responses for negative emotion words compared to neutral words (for a review, see Williams, Mathews, & MacLeod, 1996), and such an effect seems to be moderated by word frequency (Scott et al., 2009). For words with a low frequency, participants' responses for negative words were faster than for neutral words but no differences were found for words with a high frequency. While a substantial number of studies reached similar conclusions, Scott, O'Donnell, Leuthold, & Sereno (2012) replicated the findings only for the words with low frequency. Kuperman, Estes, Brysbaert, and Warriner (2014) also found that participants' responses for negative words were slower than neutral words when those words were low in frequency. But for high-frequency words, only positive words were read faster than neutral words.

Fewer studies were conducted on L2 word processing and their findings are often conflicting. Some studies revealed that differences between emotion-evoking words and neutral words are reduced during L2 processing, compared to L1 processing (Degner, Doycheva, & Wentura, 2012), while other studies found no difference (Sutton, Altarriba, Gianico, & Basnight-Brown, 2007). One possible reason for the conflicting findings is due to the different L2 proficiency of bilinguals in these studies. When bilinguals' L2 was less proficient than their L1, their L2 emotion word processing was intact (Harris, Ayçiçeği, & Gleason, 2006). When bilinguals whose L2 was as proficient as their L1 participated in the emotional Stroop task, however, no difference was found between the two language conditions (Eilola, Havelka, & Sharma, 2007). Nonetheless, the effect of language proficiency on the production of bilinguals' emotion word is still unclear. Deweale (in Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002) analysed the production of bilinguals' L2 emotion words by distinguishing "lemmas (word types) and word tokens (the term emotion words refer to both

emotion lemmas and emotion word tokens)" (p. 281), and found that language proficiency predicts the use of emotion word tokens but not emotion lemmas.

Bilinguals' L2 emotion word processing demonstrates the dynamic process of conceptual development and change, especially with a culture-specific emotion word. Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) suggested that emotions are one of eight conceptual domains in which cross-linguistic differences are demonstrated including objects, personhood, gender, number, time, space and motion. A Polish emotion word *tęsknota* does not have an equivalent term in English, which is hard for Polish speakers to express it in English (Wierzbicka, 1992). According to Wierzbicka, when *tęsknota* is translated using the existing English emotion words, including homesickness, longing, missing, pining or nostalgia, some essential part of *tęsknota* is missed. Ożańska-Ponikwia's (2016) study provided evidence. When Polish-English bicultural bilinguals were asked to identify an emotion for a story of t*ęsknota* in Polish and English, they described the story as evoking *tęsknota* (81%), loneliness (8%), and sadness (7%) in Polish while their answers in English varied from loneliness (37%), homesick (23%), sadness (19%), and *tęsknota* (14%).

The most identified emotion word in each language, *tęsknota and* loneliness, corresponds to the choice of the respective monolingual speakers: all monolingual Polish speakers identified the story as a context of *tęsknota,* and the monolingual English speakers chose either loneliness (80%) or sadness (20%). The fact of choosing *tęsknota* when bilinguals are tested in English could mean that participants were not able to find an appropriate English emotion word 'either because of the nonexistence of such a concept in English or because of low L2 proficiency' (p 127). Through further data analysis, Ożańska-Ponikwia suggests that 'neither sadness nor loneliness would be the nearest possible equivalents of *tęsknota*', while homesickness would be 'the nearest and most frequently used translation of *tęsknota* into English' (p 128).

Pointing out that the bilingual participants in her study were exposed to the L2 culture using L2 dominantly, which differentiated them from the monolingual Polish speakers, Ożańska-Ponikwia demonstrated that while bilinguals' *tęsknota* has been developed by the features of their L1, the dominant use of L2 in the L2-speaking culture influenced on the conceptualisation of *tęsknota* showing the influence of L2 ways of expressing emotions on L1. Including the case of Russian-English envy/jealousy mentioned earlier in this chapter, several studies demonstrate that the successful L2 emotional word processing seems to require the adoption of L2 ways of expressing emotions (Panayiotou, 2004a&b; Pavlenko and Driagina, 2007; Stepanova Sachs & Coley, 2006).

2.1.3 Bilinguals' emotions. Historically, little effort has been made to try to understand bilinguals' emotional experience. Laurie, in his 1899 treatise *Language and Linguistic Method*, summarises the long-standing view on bilinguals' emotion:

> If it were possible for a child or boy to live in two languages at once equally well, so much the worse for him. His intellectual and spiritual growth would not thereby be doubled, but halved. Unity of mind and character would have great difficulty in asserting itself in such circumstances. (as cited in Pavlenko, 2005, p. 24)

Studies of bilinguals' emotion have not only received little attention, but researchers also have often problematised the emotional struggles that bilinguals experience. Such a perspective was obvious in psychoanalysis, because patients' behavioural and emotional problems were diagnosed and assessed intensively by the conversation between patients and their doctors. Freud (1893) reported the case of Anna O. as unusual because she temporarily lost her L1 skill and, instead, communicated mainly in her L2. Such a phenomenon of bilinguals' struggle was interpreted as suppression of unpleasant memories related to her L1. Buxbaum (1949) analysed two German-English bilinguals' refusal to speak in German and reached a similar conclusion that their undesirable thoughts and feelings associated with the German language and culture were the cause. Likewise, Greenson (1950) explained language-switching in bilinguals as evidence of the suppression of undesirable memories and concerns, indicating a sense of a dual self.

With the rise of studies of bilinguals' cognition, however, bilinguals' emotion has now been researched extensively. Many studies have confirmed that bilinguals' emotional processing is salient in their L1 or dominant language than in their additional or less proficient language (Pavlenko, 2012; Dewaele, 2010). Supporting findings were found by studies on emotional word processing (Colbeck & Bowers, 2012; Harris, Gleason, & Ayçiçeği, 2006). Using the skin conductance technique, Harris et al. (2006) discovered that the chronologically first-acquired language (L1) is almost always more emotional; the extent to which the second language (L2) is emotional is greater when the age of L2 acquisition is lower, and one's L2 proficiency is higher. Congruent findings were found in other studies regarding such differences in L1 and L2 especially when their L1 is dominantly used and their L2 is learned later and less proficient (Caldwell-Harris et al., 2012; Dewaele, 2010). With her findings, Caldwell-Harris (2015) pointed out the importance of investigating the bilinguals' emotion in relation to their social and emotional contexts that are attached to languages they use:

My preference is not to emphasize proficiency or frequency as root causes, but to propose that words and phrases accrue emotional resonances when they have been learned and used in emotional contexts (Harris et al., 2006). This helps explain why two bilinguals could use the same language with similar levels of proficiency and frequency but experience different levels of emotionality (Caldwell-Harris et al., 2012, p 216.)

Dewaele (2010) further explains such varieties amongst multilinguals' emotional expressions, making comparisons according to the languages that they speak (from L1 to L5) and the contexts of the language use (Figure 2.1).

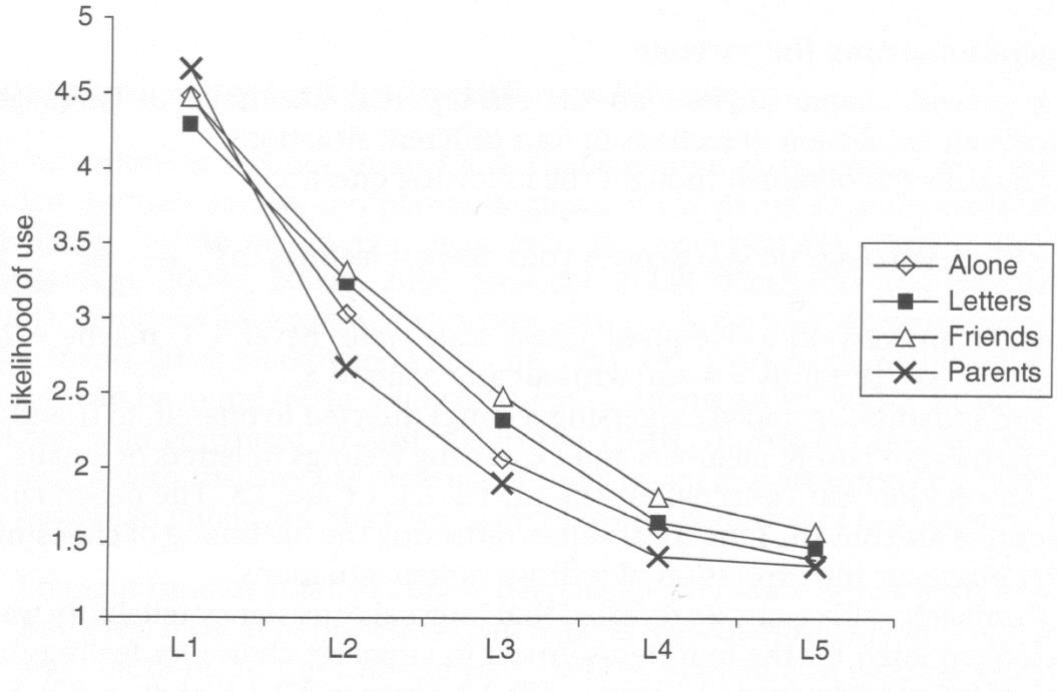

Figure 2. 1 Mean value for likelihood of expressing feelings in the L1, L2, L3, L4 and L5, derived from Dewaele, 2010, p. 88

Figure 2.1 illustrates that multilingual speakers are more likely to express their feelings in their L1 than L2 and other languages learned later. When analysing each of the four contexts in turn (alone, letter, friends, and parents), the patterns of verbal expression of emotions differ from L1 to L2, and additional languages follow L2 patterns. In other words, when multilingual speakers express their feelings in languages other than L1, it is likely to be with friends and in letters, rather than with parents or alone. Such a pattern implies that when they express their feelings in languages other than the L1, it is in a social context outside of

the home environment. In other words, patterns from L2 to L5 are likely to be developed through socialisation with different people. It is possible that, for certain social emotions, multilingual individuals might find their L2 and other languages learned later more suitable for talking about feelings. Johanna, an American who lived in Italy and spoke Italian in Dewaele's (2010) study, is one such example. After strong socialisation in Italian, she became more likely to express her anger in the L2. However, she preferred to see an *American* therapist in *Italy* if necessary, not because of the language barrier but because a bicultural-bilingual therapist would better understand her feelings, which implies that talking about emotion is not only language-dependent, but context-dependent.

If Korean-English bilingual students talk about shame experiences mainly with their parents or by themselves, it is likely that they will keep talking about their shame experiences in Korean (L1). However, if they prefer to talk with friends, especially with those who share their current social lives, Korean overseas students may develop a need to express shame in English (L2) and will eventually be able to successfully use shame words and phrases in their L2. Students in global colleges, however, may not feel the need to express shame in their L2 if they can share their emotional experiences in their L1. If they need and desire to, they will also ultimately find ways to express shame in English, while it is uncertain whether or not their use of shame words would be similar to that of the Korean overseas students because their exposure to the English shame narratives can be limited.

2.2 Cross-Cultural and Cross-Linguistic Perspectives on Shame

The cultural influence cannot be overlooked when examining the relationship between language and emotion. While basic emotions such as joy, surprise, contempt, sadness, anger, disgust and fear might be universal (Ekman, 1992; Ekman & Heider, 1988), recent studies show evidence that some emotions are culture and language dependent. Polish *tęsknota* (Wierzbicka, 1992), Russian *perezhivat* (Pavlenko & Driagina, 2007), and Greek *stenahoria* (Panayiotou, 2004b) are the examples. These studies demonstrate that emotion is not only language-dependent, but that emotional experience is also constructed through the culture in which language is used.

Such studies are aligned with Stocker and Hegeman (1996)'s claim that the importance and meaning of emotions vary across cultural contexts. They argue that the Western countries value guilt over shame referring to Lewis (1971) on Tawney (1926) that the "concept of guilt motivation as a higher order of morality than shame motivation is particularly congenial to an industrial society based on the autonomy or personal

independence of its members." From a similar stance, using the notion of individualism and collectivism, Wallbott and Scherer (1995) assert that guilt and shame can be considered on a continuum, where individualistic countries tend to be guilt culture and collectivist countries are likely to be shame culture.

Panayiotou (2006) points out that cross-cultural studies on emotion demonstrate that emotions are not culturally equivalent so emotion terms are not equivalently translatable. Criticising that cross-cultural and cross-linguistic studies on emotion are bound in English emotionology, she emphasised the importance of having bilingual participants who experience two languages and cultures. Using semi-structured interviews with Greek-English bilinguals based on how they react to the same scenarios given in two languages, she argues that the best translation from English to Greek for feeling guilty is either 'I feel bad' or 'I am ashamed'. Her participants revealed that *ntropi*, shame in Greek, is a complex concept, which shares some elements with shame, embarrassment, and shyness in English as a 'very powerful and frequently used emotion in the Greek language' (p 199).

The current study of Korean-English bilinguals' shame needs to consider the influence of the Korean and the UK cultures and their educational context on their language use and emotional experiences. In this section, the way that shame has been researched in English and other languages including Korean is summarised, focusing on the differences derived from both languages and cultures.

2.2.1 Shame in English-speaking cultures. In psychology, shame is known as an emotion that "follows public exposure (and disapproval) of some impropriety or shortcoming" (Tangney, Miller, Flicker, & Barlow, 1996, p. 1256), which is "usually dependent on the public exposure of one's failing" (Gehm & Scherer, 1988, p. 64). Empirical research on shame, however, revealed that individuals also experience shame without the presence of others, as more than 15% of English-speakers' narratives of shame were unrelated to public exposure, suggesting that shame is a self-conscious emotion that can be experienced by imagining one's exposure to public (Tangney, Marschall, Rosenberg, Barlow, & Wagner, 1994).

Shame is often researched as a cluster of negative self-conscious emotions with embarrassment and guilt. Claiming a need to distinguish one from another, studies have been challenging whether shame is a psychologically and physiologically distinct emotion from guilt and embarrassment (Sabini, Garvey, & Hall, 2001). Other studies show that it is hard to differentiate between how shame and guilt are evoked (Keltner & Buswell, 1997), and that shame, guilt, and embarrassment might be the three emotional terms to describe the same

emotional experience, with slightly different interpretations (Sabini & Silver, 2005). Tangney conceptualised shame in comparison to guilt as both emotions arise when people have done something wrong or socially inappropriate, and they acknowledge their misconduct (Tangney, 1995b). An ashamed person evaluates himself or herself negatively (i.e., "I am such a horrible person for having hurt the other" in Tangney, 1995b, p. 1137) and such a negative evaluation tends to lead to displays of avoidance behaviour. However, when one experiences guilt in the same contexts, he or she attempts to take a socially or morally preferred action. In this way, Tangney asserts that shame and guilt have different functions. However, she also acknowledges the influence of culture on such distinctions, mentioning that guilt is favoured over shame in the United States and other Western countries[1].

2.2.2 Shame in non-English-speaking cultures. In Tangney's conceptualisation of shame, emphasis is given to how one evaluates his or her own self: self-concept, which can be applied to individuals in other languages and cultures. However, two problems arise. First, the notion of self-concept is heavily dependent on culture and therefore understanding of how the self-concept is defined in the corresponding culture needs to be first examined. In other words, evaluation of the self-concept between cultures needs to be carried out before assuming that a single definition of self-concept can be applied to the cultures bilinguals belong to. Second, the correlation between feeing ashamed and socially inappropriate behaviours in the English-speaking cultures cannot be assumed to be found in the non-English speaking-culture. From the perspective of Confucianism, Mascolo, Fischer, and Li (2003) and Li, Wang, and Fischer (2004) challenged Tangney's (1995a) assertion regarding shame and its function. In Confucianism, shame is a moral and virtuous sensibility to be pursued for self-perfection and thus expressing shame is not only common but often encouraged (Li et al., 2004). In other words, showing a sense of shame is desirable as it implies the speaker's humility and respect toward others while not showing a sense of shame often even evokes the anger of others and leads to public shaming. Such a positive function of shame is fundamentally different from the English-speaking culture where a sense of shame includes an individual's concession of self-humiliation.

1 In Tangney and Dearing (2002), the United States' culture is perceived as shame-phobic, as is shown below:

> In everyday conversations, people typically avoid the term "shame." In fact, one could easily argue that today's U.S. society is rather "shame-phobic." The average person rarely speaks of his or her own "shame." Instead people refer to "guilt" when they mean they felt shame, guilt, or some combination of the two (pp 11).

Choi and Kim's (2004) study on social face (*chemyeon* in Korean) further supports how Confucianism could have developed a shame-oriented culture in China, Korea, and Japan. Defining *chemyeon* as "principles to follow, obligations to fulfill, or face to save in order to meet others with a dignified attitude without a sense of shame" (p. 33), Choi and Kim (2004) argue that *chemyeon* reflects the social contexts of interpersonal relationships in Confucian cultures in relation to shame:

> [F]eeling honorable and proper is a critical component in experiences of shame and *chemyeon*. Proper behavior and fulfilled obligations bring an individual a sense of honor and propriety needed to preserve one's *chemyeon*. Conversely, feelings of dishonor and impropriety due to unreasonable actions and unfulfilled obligations bring a sense of shame or loss of *chemyeon* (p. 33).

The emphasis on an individual's behaviour and moral obligations to others implies that shame seems to include what is thought to be a component of guilt in the studies carried out in the English-speaking culture. In other words, in the culture of *chemyeon,* the experience of shame may lead to actions that are socially sanctioned or right, because individuals' social face can be saved when their behaviour meets others' expectations; failure to do so would lead to further loss of social face.

Studies of Japanese shame, *haji*, share such a view. Characterising Japan as a shame culture in contrast to a guilt culture (the latter typically being found in Western countries), Benedict (1946) pointed out that Japanese individuals are more vulnerable to the experience of shame. Lebra (1983) confirmed the pervasiveness of shame in Japan, and further explained that *haji* includes exposing the sensitivity of the self. That being said, even public exposure *per se* can easily induce a sense of shame for Japanese individuals, which is different from Tangney et al.'s (1994) shame narratives in English-speaking culture. In terms of the expression of *haji*, Lebra identified that shame experiences are likely to be expressed as embarrassment.

Cross-cultural and cross-linguistic studies of emotion words also show that shame is understood differently by different language speakers. Moore, Romney, Hsia, and Rusch (1999) asked monolinguals and bilinguals of three languages—Chinese, English, and Japanese—to rate 15 emotion terms that exist in these three languages. Chinese shame was rated as more unpleasant, while Japanese shame was rated as rather pleasant, closer to happiness than to anger. A subsequent data analysis revealed that the Japanese shame (*hazukashii*) is translated into English as two words, namely *shame* for Kanji and *embarrassed* for Hiragana. When native speakers of Chinese and Japanese rated the same

emotion terms in English, different patterns found were between the original language, Chinese or Japanese, and the acquired language, English. The difference between Japanese monolinguals and Japanese-English bilinguals showed the effect of bilingualism from the between-subject condition. However, because identical Chinese-English bilinguals were tested in two languages, the difference that they showed in the Chinese and English conditions can be interpreted as the difference within individuals. Together, these results indicate that the bilinguals' semantic structures are not static but change based on the language context.

2.2.3 Conclusions drawn from current studies of shame. The current studies of shame exhibit the existence of its cultural variation in the definition and role of shame in relation to different social expectations. From this perspective, it is possible that Korean-English bilinguals in the UK are more prone to experiencing shame in Korean and guilt in English. Second, a comparison of shame and guilt is needed because how these two self-conscious emotions are conceptualised and function may vary between the UK and Korea. Third, studies on shame demonstrate that the experience of shame should be separately recognised from its verbal expression. Since traditional psychological studies assume that one's emotional experience is rather independent from language, one's experience of shame might remain consistent, but verbal expression might differ between the two language conditions, legitimating the inclusion of words describing guilt and embarrassment in the study of shame. For these reasons, this study proposes a conceptualisation of shame that can be used in both Korean and English, which is introduced as the conceptualisation of shame in Section 2.4 after exploring the verbal expression of shame in different languages.

2.3 Shame and Shame Words

The previous section demonstrated that shame needs to be defined as an emotion concept not necessarily characterised by culture and language, which enables shame words to be compared in Korean and English. This section explores verbal expressions of shame, which seem to exhibit the cultural influence on shame-related narratives. Before doing so, it is important to acknowledge differences in emotional narratives across languages. Cross-linguistics studies revealed English speakers favour adjectives or pseudo-participles, such as upset, worried or disgusted, to describe one's emotion while Russian speakers' use of emotion words is more varied across different forms, such as nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs (Pavlenko, 2002). Wierzbicka (1992) argues that this is because, for English speakers, emotions are conceptualised as passive states of mind while, for Russian speakers,

emotions are inner activities. Comparing Dutch and Hindustani speakers' emotional narratives, Semin, Gorts, Nandram, and Semin-Goossens (2002) support such a view and claims individuals in independent cultures present emotions through adjectives and nouns that function as self-markers while individuals in interdependent cultures use emotion verbs that function as relational markers.

Since studies on shame and shame words in different languages are extremely limited Pavlenko and Driagina's (2007) study of anger and anger words in English and Russian provides an overview comparing shame words between English and Korean. By comparing English and Russian monolinguals' anger narratives, they found five differences in emotional narratives between the two languages. English speakers' narrative tends to be longer than those of Russian speakers. Russian speakers had richer anger vocabularies than English speakers. English speakers favoured emotion adjectives while Russian speakers preferred emotion verbs, which is congruent to the study by Wierzbicka (1992). The participants' lexical choices differed: English speakers favoured the use of 'upset' as a state of emotion while Russian speakers not only used the corresponding word '*rasstroennaia*' but also used two intransitive verbs *rasstraivat'sia* and *perezhivat'* which describe a sequence and process of emotion. English speakers were more likely to see the main character in the scenario as angry or mad in addition to upset or sad than Russian speakers, which seems to result from cross-linguistic difference in categorisation of emotion verbs as English expression 'anger' is differentiated into *serdit'sia* [to be angry at someone] and *zlit'sia*, a process involving abstract causes in Russian. These differences shown by English and Russian monolinguals demonstrate that differences in emotion words exist across languages, which might be related to the culture where the language is used.

Pavlenko and Driagina (2007) added Advanced American learners of Russian to their studies. They found out the L2 learners used fewer emotion words in Russian than both monolingual speakers. These L2 learners followed the Russian pattern in their use of adjectives and verbs but the English pattern in their use of nouns. However, these L2 learners overused adverbs compared to both monolingual groups, and Pavlenko and Driagina explained that the learners' overuse of adverbs seems to demonstrate evidence of L1 transfer or be related to the Russian textbooks that they used. These findings suggest that when bilinguals express their emotions, language transfer may occur between the two languages; and patterns that do not exist among monolinguals may be also observed when bilinguals express their emotions in their less fluent language.

2.3.1 Shame experience and word choice among different language speakers. Korean-English bilinguals' shame narratives in English and Korean can be inferred from how the speakers of English and Chinese verbalise their experience of shame. English speakers avoid employing shame words in their conversation when describing a shameful experience (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Instead, they prefer to say they feel guilty or use other emotion words like 'nervous' and 'embarrassed'. However, Chinese participants in Bedford's study described shame episodes using direct shame words. For example, following is an example of employing a shame word, *diu lian*, which translates as the loss of face, when describing her experience of shame:

> Oh, I would DIE!! I would die the moment someone found out. I think at that moment I really could die. It would be great shame. Maybe from that time nobody would trust me. They would say, "Oh, she is a bad girl and you should not make friends with this kind of girl." Oh, so *diu lian*! (Bedford, 2004, p. 37)

If how Koreans talk about shame is similar to that of Chinese, Korean-English bilinguals' shame narratives might differ considerably between English and Korean, including their choice of emotion words. For this reason, how shame is conceptualised in Chinese culture and how it is related to the Chinese language is first explored (Chapter 2.3.2), and an attempt is made to understand how Korean learners of English would learn how to express shame using the dictionary search (Chapter 2.3.3).

2.3.2 Chinese shame words. Li, Wang, & Fischer (2004) found 83 Chinese shame words and 61 additional shame expressions that are commonly spoken and written in Mandarin in the *Modern Chinese Dictionary*. These terms are categorised first by whether these terms are to describe one's own experience of shame (self-focus) or to react to someone else's shame (other-focus) and then by different psychological features of shame (Figure 2.2).

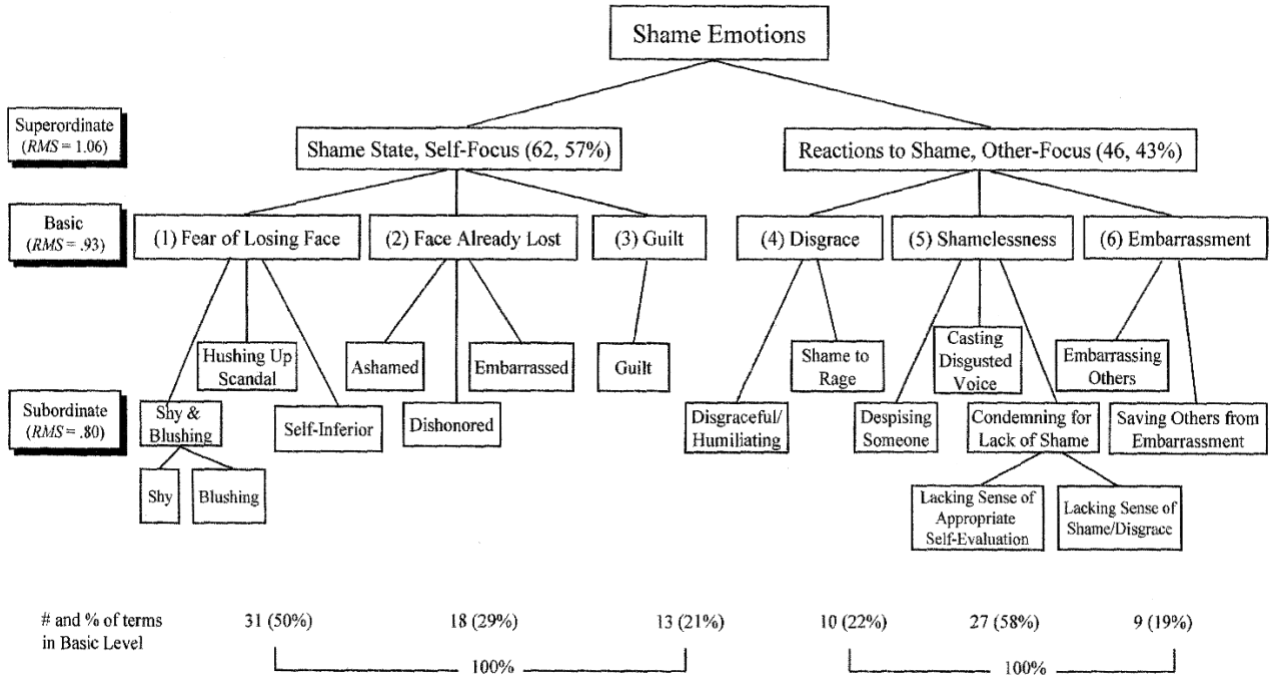

Figure 2.2 Hierarchy of Chinese shame words derived Li, Wang & Fischer, 2004, p. 780

One of the major differences, that is likely to be linked to the culture that each language is spoken in, is that while Tangney and her colleagues perceive that the United States has a guilt-oriented culture in which shame can be disguised as guilt or embarrassment, Li et al.'s study shows that shame is pervasive in China where the expressions of guilt and embarrassment can be conceptualised as subordinate features of shame. However, the characteristics of Chinese shame words to refer the speaker's own shame experience (See Figure 2.2) share commonalities with the features of shame Tangney claims: the overall negative evaluation of the self-concept. In other words, while the number of shame words and how often those words are employed in their verbal expression of shame might differ between English and Chinese speakers, their psychological experiences are alike.

However, it is interesting that 43% of shame vocabularies in the Chinese dictionary are expressions to react to someone else's shame. In this category, while part of this category is also shared in the English-speaking culture (i.e. Shame on you!), the differentiation of shame reaction and the emphasis on the reaction seem to reflect Chinese culture. It is noteworthy that Chinese speakers have developed specific vocabularies and phrases to refer their reactive feelings, such as when someone is embarrassing others or when someone saves others from embarrassment. From this it can be inferred that shame is a relational emotion and the engagement of others is often crucial. Moreover, the employment of words describing disgrace as a reaction to other's shame implies that the speakers may not perceive the wrong-

doer as an separate, independent being but as if they are related. In summary, the discovery of the vast vocabularies of shame in China already implies the potential differences of shame narratives between English and Korean contexts, and Li et al's study (2004) further demonstrates that the broad shame expressions may imply how shame is cultivated and functions in China.

To some degree, Chinese and Korean shame words might share important commonalities. Since the Koreans borrowed the Chinese writing system until the invention of the Korean alphabet in 1446, the Chinese vocabularies have been heavily used in Korean even afterwards, especially in Korean academia to differentiate semantic meanings of Korean vocabulary (i.e. a specific vocabulary for "nation's shame", Li et al., 2004, p. 775). For this reason, some Chinese shame words can be easily translated into Korean using Chinese-loan Korean words but not into English. Similarly, phrases to refer being shameless ("thick-skinned face") are also found in the Korean dictionary as shame-specific expressions. Another plausible explanation for such commonalities is the strong influence of Confucianism in both Chinese and Korean cultures and histories which influences the conceptualisation of self-worth and respect for others as core values (Ng, 2001). While losing face is a universal response when shame occurs, having abundant expressions regarding losing face in Chinese seems to illustrate how self-concept is acknowledged in the context of Confucian relationalism (Hu, 1944; Huang, Bedford & Zhang, 2018; Hwang, 2001; and Hwang, 2000).

It is also worth pointing out that while some Chinese words in Li, Wang & Fischer's study (2004) were translated using the existing English words such as shy, blushing, ashamed, other words were described as 'hushing up scandal', 'casting disgusted voice' or 'condemning for lack of shame' illustrating the potential difficulty of translating shame vocabulary items from Korean to English without losing their original meanings. While Korean-English bilinguals use an identical emotion word to describe their emotion in Korean, their choice of emotion words in English can vary from a few different words to several phrases in English. This could be a potential case of a culture-specific Korean shame word demonstrating an emotion concept that exists among the speakers of Korean similar to the case of *tęsknota* as a culture-specific Polish emotion that can be experienced authentically by the speakers of Polish (Wierzbicka, 1992).

2.3.3 Shame and shame words in English. Li et al.'s (2004) lexical study of Chinese shame revealed diverse shame expressions in Chinese, many of which are likely to be translated with ease or be matched to a similar expression in Korean, but not necessarily in

English. How Korean-L1 speakers would search for English shame words using their knowledge of Korean shame words should be considered. For these reasons, a lexical search for shame in two English dictionaries was performed. The online *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED, 1989) and online *Oxford English Thesaurus* (OET, 2005) were used to find the definition of shame in English.

The OED provides the definition of shame as below:

> The painful emotion arising from the consciousness of something dishonouring, ridiculous, or indecorous in one's own conduct or circumstances (or in those of others whose honour or disgrace one regards as one's own), or of being in a situation which offends one's sense of modesty or decency. ("Shame," 1989)

The ways in which the definition of shame in English is provided is similar to how other emotions (like happiness, sadness, and anger) were conceptualised, namely by offering a few examples of how these words appear in sentences. From the perspective that shame, guilt, and embarrassment can occur under the same condition, the definition of shame, however, fails to be distinguished from guilt or embarrassment as the description above is not specific enough. Although it provides 16 different examples that shame appears in the English language, the OED prioritises the abstract definition of an emotional concept and fails to provide concrete examples. For example, when English speakers describe shame in English, they are likely to describe shame by offering an example of when they feel ashamed or the circumstances in which they are likely to use shame-expressing words. These concrete examples are far from the abstract emotional concepts, therefore was not provided by dictionary definitions.

While a dictionary provides actual sentences using shame, it does so without any indication of when native English speakers use such sentences, or how often such expressions are used in everyday life. The examples given are unlikely to meet non-native speakers' expectations of seeing real-world examples of shame in dictionaries. In fact, the English word 'shame' appears more frequently in literature and was used much more in the past, and the OED prioritises this by providing examples from literature first. A common expression like "Shame on you!" is listed only as the 13th entry in the OED ("Shame," 1989). More important, though, is that the OED does not provide examples showing how to properly express one's own feeling of shame. Therefore, what "Shame on you!" actually means can be unclear to Korean learners of English.

Because the English dictionary is unhelpful in understanding and finding a proper expression of shame, it is plausible that Korean students learn how to express their shame

experiences through their actual interaction with English speakers. In reality, when English speakers must describe their feeling of shame, they are likely to say "I am/feel embarrassed" (Tangney & Dearing, 2002), and the Korean students are less likely to hear English speakers say "I am/feel ashamed". Therefore, how Korean students in the UK and Korea express shame might differ and those in the UK are more likely to reproduce what they actually hear rather than relying on dictionaries.

It is apparent that the OED does not provide a sophisticated understanding of how shame as an emotion can be differentiated from guilt or embarrassment, nor how English speakers express their own experience of shame. The OET provides a better understanding of what shame refers to by giving a few of synonyms (*disgrace* and *embarrassment*) and offering a number of other synonyms and antonyms ("Shame," 2005). With thesauruses, English language learners can develop a concrete understanding of what shame means in English, by relating to other emotion vocabulary items provided in the OET based on their own shame concept developed in their L1. Nonetheless, the OET still lacks information about how to express the feeling of shame in English. Overall, if Korean learners of English were to try to understand shame from the OED and/or OET in relation to the Korean shame words, they might find the task extremely hard.

2.4 Definitions of Shame as an Emotion Concept

The operational definition of shame used in this study was shaped by considering the definitions of shame proposed by Wierzbicka (1999) and Tangney (Tangney & Dearing 2002). When doing so, guilt and/or embarrassment were also compared as a paired emotion, as Wierzbicka and Tangney claimed.

2.4.1 Wierzbicka's definition of shame. Wierzbicka's (1999) systematic definitions of emotion seem to be most appropriate when analysing bilinguals' shame-related narratives in this study, because an emotion is conceptualised as having a distinctive cognitive scenario. According to Wierzbicka, shame, guilt, and embarrassment all fall into the same cognitive prototype of emotion, thinking about oneself, but the definitions of each emotion differ according to their cognitive scenarios, as follows:

> Shame: People could know something bad about me. I do not want people to know it.
>
> Embarrassment: Something is happening to me now, but not because I want it to. I do not want people to think about me like this.
>
> Guilt: I did something, and something bad happened because of it. Because of this, I am unable to not think that I did something bad. (Wierzbicka, 1999, p. 49)

The assumptions of Wierzbicka's definitions include (1) individuals may experience any of these three emotions in the same context, and (2) their responses require evaluation of self. In other words, these three emotions are all negative self-conscious emotions, and it is in the last step that the emotion one experiences is differentiated. Those who feel ashamed or embarrassed are more concerned about their self-images (how they are evaluated by others) and therefore worry about how others may think about themselves. However, those who feel guilty are focused on their behaviour and are captured by the thought that they themselves did something bad, rather than thinking about the people around them. In other words, the cognitive scenarios of shame and embarrassment are likely to share more commonalities than that of guilt and this might be due to the fact that the acknowledgement of others seems central in terms of their psychological orientations when one experiences shame or embarrassment while it is less of concern when one feels guilty.

The major threat of using these definitions alone in the study, however, is that conceptualising shame in this way does not provide behavioural responses exclusive to each emotion. One of the major roles of emotions is that they are motivational resources that lead humans to react in certain ways. Facial expressions like laughing and weeping are typical reactions that exhibit happiness and sadness while clapping or covering one's face may also be accompanying behavioural reactions. The acknowledgement of the reaction of each emotion, however, is crucial. Some reactions are innate physiological reactions (i.e. blushing or trembling) and become fundamental sources for one to evaluate the nature of his or her own emotion (i.e. positive or negative) as well as evidence for others to understand how he or she feels. Some reactions are more socially cultivated and learned through interactions with others, and what is adoptive or desirable may vary across contexts and cultures.

If feeling ashamed and embarrassed are associated with different physiological reactions, such features may be useful when one's verbal reactions cannot be used to distinguish emotion between shame and embarrassment. If feeling ashamed and guilty lead to different behavioural patterns, by observing one's behaviour in the given context, it would be not only possible to predict which emotion one experiences but also provides useful information for the studies of emotional regulation. Lastly, if the contextual differences, including languages and cultures, lead to different reaction patterns, such differences will help understand how differently emotion works, stressing the importance of emotion as a motivational factor. For example, if bilinguals' experiences and expressions of shame are

dependent on contexts, such findings will contribute to our understanding of how bilinguals function using two languages in the two cultures.

2.4.2 Tangney's definition of shame. Tangney's definition of shame is considered in this study because she has developed a psychological assessment to measure shame in comparison to guilt, that is least affected by emotion words. Tangney and Dearing (2002) assert that shame should be measured in consideration of guilt by assessing emotional traits and classifying emotions into shame-proneness and guilt-proneness. They pointed out that previous studies focusing on either shame or guilt only had not taken into account the difference between the two emotions. For example, when measuring guilt only, Buss and Durkee (1957) included confounding items such as "I sometime have bad thoughts which make me feel ashamed of myself". While many previous attempts to measure guilt confounded shame and guilt (Mosher, 1966; Otterbacher & Munz, 1973; Klass, 1987), very little research was carried out to measure shame exclusively (Cook, 1989). Attempts to distinguish between shame and guilt have only appeared recently (Kugler & Jones, 1992).

Strongly advocating for the usefulness of scenario-based approaches to measure shame and guilt together, the definitions of shame and guilt in the Test of Self-Conscious Affects-3 (TOSCA-3; Tangney, Dearing, Wanger & Gramzow, 2000) and the Test of Self-Conscious Affects for Adolescents (TOSCA-A; Tangney, Wagner, Gavlas & Gramzow, 1991) took into account both similarities and differences between the two emotions (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Shame and guilt fall into the same classification of emotions in many ways, given that they are both negative, moral, and self-conscious. They are typically experienced in interpersonal contexts and the same negative event may evoke shame and guilt. However, shame and guilt differ according to several key dimensions. The focus of evaluation when shame is experienced is on what is referred to as the global self (i.e. *I* did that horrible thing.), while the focus is on one's specific behaviour when guilt is experienced (i.e. I *did* that horrible *thing*.) The counterfactual process of shame involves mentally undoing some aspect of the self while that of guilt involves a desire to confess, apologise, or repair. As a consequence, shame-prone individuals seek to hide, escape, or strike back, while guilt-prone individuals seek to confess, apologise, or repair.

In short, Tangney's definition of shame can be summarised as a negative self-conscious emotion that evaluates one's own self, that is followed by an avoidance behaviour, while guilt can be defined as a negative self-conscious emotion that evaluates one's own behaviour, and is then followed by rectifying behaviour.

2.4.3 Shame as an emotion concept and emotion word. Psychological research on emotion tends to build a cognitive model focusing on the mental representation of emotional states followed by a distinctive behaviour, while the contents of the emotional narratives that people use in everyday lives are excluded. With this framework, psychologists theorised the process of the emotional experiences and how each emotion functions. This particular framework is included in this study because this approach assumes that an emotion theory based on empirical research can exist, one that can be applied independently of language and culture. That is, this approach derived from cognitive psychology enables the generation of hypotheses on shame as an emotion concept that can be used in understanding Korean-English bilinguals' experiences.

This, however, does not mean that shame as an emotion concept enables a comparison of emotion words between English and Korean. Universalists contend that there are emotional states that universally exist across language and culture, while the existence of emotion words is independent from that of emotion (Damasio, 2000). Pavlenko (2009), on the other hand, claims that emotion concepts may or may not vary across languages and lexicons. First, some emotion words between the two languages can be identical, which might suggest the alignment between an emotion and its terms. Second, some emotions are largely influenced by culture and language, meaning that the emotion words referring to the same emotion are not directly translatable. Panayiotou's (2004b) study on language-specific emotion supports this view, as Greek-English bilinguals find it hard to translate English 'frustration' and Greek *stenahoria* (discomfort/sadness/suffocation) into the other language. Third, the emotion words only partially overlap across languages, which makes it hard to find the matching relationship between emotion as a concept and words describing it universally.

If shame expressions are culture-specific, participants with different levels of exposure to English-speaking culture may show differences. If shame expressions are language-specific, differences between English and Korean shame narratives will be found. If some emotion words are culture-related yet language-specific, it is possible that some shame words may not have an equivalent translation, while some other words may show partial overlaps between English and Korean.

2.5 Self-concept and Culture in studies of bilinguals' shame

The conceptualisation of shame as a negative self-conscious emotion requires a concept of self and a set of standards as a point of comparison. Developmental psychologists generally agree that humans develop the sense of self as distant from others in the second

year of life (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). One's conception of self continues to evolve and change across one' lifespan, which includes acquiring abilities to make a distinction between self and behaviour, which is an essence of experiencing guilt about specific behaviours.

The dominant research paradigm in cross-cultural studies on the concept of self has been Hofstede's (1980) individualist and collectivist (IC) cultural frameworks. These frameworks capture how cultural differences are reflected in the understanding of self-concept in relation to others. According to a meta-analysis of 170 studies on IC concepts, the essential element of individualism is "the assumption that individuals are independent of one another", while the essential element of collectivism is "the assumption that groups bind and mutually obligate individuals" (Oyserman, Coon & Kemmelmeier, 2002, p. 5). In other words, within the individualist framework individuals are defined by their inherent traits, while in the collectivist framework, individuals are defined by the connections, obligations and characteristic of their relationships.

The long history of understanding cultural differences between Western and Eastern countries as either individualistic or collective (Hofstede, 1980) has been reflected in empirical research on self-concepts (Kim & Markus, 1999; Kim, Sherman & Taylor, 2008). One evidence of the cultural effect is different notions of self (Figure 2.3). The independent concept of self appears to be dominant in Western cultures while the inter-dependent concept of self seems more dominant in Asian cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Brewer and Yuki (2007) provide examples of European-Americans describing themselves, descriptions which focus on personal attributes detached from social relations (independent self), while Asians describe themselves in relation to others and their social status (interdependent self). Kim and Markman (2006) revealed that European-Americans tend to refer to their psychological traits, while Asians evaluate themselves by relying primarily on their social relations. Similar to this, in the presence of other individuals, Asians' motivation to justify their choice increased, while such a tendency was not found among European-Americans (Kitayama, Snibbe, Markus, & Suzuki, 2004). The different models of self from the two different cultural frameworks (Figure 2.3) should be acknowledged when understanding bilinguals' shame in different cultures as other individuals' evaluation of them is likely to be included or followed.

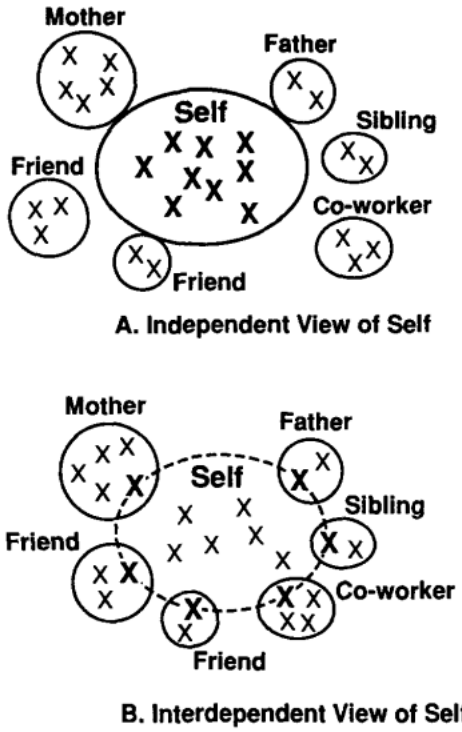

Figure 2.3. Visual representations of the two concepts of self, derived from Markus and Kitayama, 1991, p. 226

Shame has mostly been explored by researchers in western contexts whose participants were recruited in independent cultures, and such research shows consistent results characterising shame being self-focused while guilt is behaviour-focused (Tangney, 1995b, Tangney, Miller, Flicker, & Barlow, 1996). Studies carried out on participants in collective cultures like China revealed that characteristics such as global negative evaluation of self and counterfactual thinking about shame experiences were not found among Chinese participants (Qian & Qi, 2002; also in Gao, 2005, & Xie, 1998). Given that the model in the independent culture was not replicated among Chinese participants, Qian and Qi (2002) proposed understanding guilt and shame according to a self-afflicted and other-afflicted distinction; Gao, Wang and Qian (2010) carried out a cross-cultural study testing this hypothesis on American and Chinese students, and strong evidence was found in its favour among Chinese participants with only partial evidence from the American group. This new model detected the cultural differences with a focus on understanding shame in interdependent cultures, emphasising the necessity of considering the influence of others when the interdependent self is applied to studies of shame.

2.6 Literature Review for Research Design and Methodology

The aim of the research design is to use appropriate techniques to discover how the target students 'construct' their reality using two languages and find ways to express their feelings properly in both languages. This section addresses the construction of a process by which to research Korean-English bilingual students' shame through literature review. This process was dominantly influenced by Vygotsky's socio-cultural approach, which focuses on the relationship between the individual and the social context, with language as the prime tool for cognitive development as this occurs over an individual's lifetime. This approach helps acknowledge the effect of the constant interplay between individuals and cultures. Valsiner (1989) noted that Vygotsky 'advanced the general methodological canon for psychology: Only when psychological phenomena are viewed in their process of change can they be adequately explained' (p. 61). This study adopts the Vygotskyan perspective on methodology because it allows bilinguals' emotion to be understood from the dynamic causal relations in social context.

By applying the Vygotskian perspective on language as a social tool, an empirical study on the distinctive features of emotional narratives can be developed and applied to the case of Korean–English bilinguals. Lexicon is one of the four landmarks of language acquisition along with synthesis, phonology and pragmatics (Bialystok, 2001), and studies on bilinguals' shame narratives can provide lexicons of shame vocabulary in English and Korean. The lexicon of shame vocabulary can be developed by focusing on the conceptualisation of shame as an emotional concept and mapping out its emotion terms accordingly. The aim of this investigation is to categorise shame vocabulary items, which is similar to the case of Chinese shame vocabulary (Li et al., 2004). The results may reveal the semantics or functional usage of each shame vocabulary item. The size of the shame vocabulary may be smaller in English than in Korean in the case of participants who are sequential bilinguals for whom English is their L2. These participants may also use the English vocabularies incorrectly or inappropriately, which might reveal one of the typical error types dictated in language development, such as overextension (i.e. when a child calls any four-legged animal a 'doggie') and mismatch (Anglin, 1977; Clark, 1973; Tomasello, 1992).

Such potential imbalance of vocabulary size and use between L1 and L2 can be examined using Kroll and Stewart's (1994) theoretical model regarding the links between the mental storages of concept(s) and language(s) that an individual speaks. This model is particularly applicable in this study because it is designed for understanding a specific type of

bilinguals, namely those whose acquisition of the two languages is sequential. First, this model assumes that L1 vocabulary size is larger than that of the L2. Second, the link between the concept and L1 storage tends to be stronger than that between the concept and L2, and between L1 and L2, because the concept and its related lexicons are initially co-developed while the links with L2 are added chronologically after the establishment of this initial relationship. Third, these added links by L2 are weak but will become stronger through a habitual use of L2. The strengthening of the link between L2 and concept is thought to be 'the eventual outcome of becoming a fluent bilingual speaker' (Altarriba, 2003, p 308). However, this third assumption is often criticised, especially in relationship to the difficulty in providing evidence for the direct link from L2 to the conceptual store (Altarriba & Mathis, 1997).

2.6.1 Research design. Constructivism and interpretivism can be considered when researching bilinguals' emotion. From the perspective of constructivism, all knowledge is 'constructed in and out of an interaction between human beings and their words' (Crotty, 1998, p. 42). This is for at least two reasons.

First, statistical analysis techniques alone may overlook the subtle interplay between cultural influence and individual difference, and assume that meaningful effects can be shown by drawing a linear relationship. When doing so, the unusual observations that do not neatly go with the discovered relationship are treated as outliers which are excluded from the analysis and left with no further explanation. In reality, however, no two bilingual students share identical contexts in which they use their two languages. When a trend is found among the limited number of participants with outliers who do not follow the pattern, constructivism informs this research of the necessity to pay a closer attention to these outliers rather than ignoring them, and further guides future research.

Second, transforming verbal data into numerical data often results in losing the interplay between individuals and their context, and undermines the authentic power of language when sharing thoughts and feelings. As Vygotsky (1978) put it:

> Just as a mould gives shape to a substance, words can shape an activity into a structure. However, that structure may be changed or reshaped when children learn how to use language in ways that allow them to go beyond previous experiences when planning future action. . . . [O]nce children learn how to use the planning function of their language effectively, their psychological field changes radically. A view of the future is now an integral part of their approaches to their surroundings. (p. 28)

This idea shows that individuals' minds and actions are both affected by how language is learned and used. Appling this approach to his research on how young learners develop critical thinking collectively using language, Mercer (2000) stated:

> The two functions of language, the cultural and the psychological, are integrated. As children hear people in their communities using language to describe experience and get things done, they pick up these cultural 'ways with words' and eventually make them their own psychological tools. If this process is successful, children gain ways of making sense of the world as they learn the communication skills for becoming active members of their communities.

To apply this idea to the target population in this study, using English words to express their feelings in a given context is not only dependent on vocabularies they already acquired but is accordingly likely to change how they feel and react. If the link between the two languages is unconsciously active, their constant practice of how to express in English might also reshape their use of Korean without them realising such an interplay. Therefore, exploring both verbal and behavioural practice of Korean–English bilinguals will not only reveal how humans utilise language as a tool but also provide resources for how English as a medium of instruction (EMI) influences the ways in which learners utilise languages in the given cultural contexts.

Together, it is sensible to hypothesise that bilinguals may use two languages differently when expressing their shame experiences. How differently and similarly they use the two languages needs be explained by exploring both individual cases (one's own Korean and English narratives for example) and comparing them amongst bilinguals themselves. One hypothesis is that their emotional experiences may be identical but their verbal expressions are richer in Korean than English; the further analysis of their narratives may explain the role of cultural exposure. Alternatively, they may experience different emotions, and because of this, use different verbal expressions regardless of their language competency, which leads to further exploration of the role of cultural contexts.

From the perspective of interpretivism (Blumer, 1969), the high possibility that any two individuals may interpret the same event differently must be acknowledged. No matter how rigorously this research is designed, a study cannot provide a condition where all participants will experience the expected emotions, because no two humans interpret the same context identically. For example, when two individuals face the same shameful event, the frustration of losing face might lead one individual to swear, while the other individual might feel bad about what happened and apologise. Such differences might not be directly

related to their language competency, but are derived from them dealing with their emotions differently or experiencing different emotions, hence showing different verbal expressions.

In addition to this, I position myself as a researcher who shares the cultures and languages of the target population and thus understand them from an insider's view. However, this is different from saying that my use and understanding of languages can become a standard measurement for analysing Korean–English bilinguals' emotion. Instead, my exposure to the two cultures and knowledge of the two languages will lead to acknowledging underlying assumptions or detecting hidden effects that may not be observed by others. It should also be noted that the main researcher in this study is not only interpreting data but also constructing a context that makes sense to other researchers including establishing interrater reliability.

Mixed methods. Mixed methods is designed to improve the quality of the research, as different data types counterbalance potential biases and weaknesses of each other, leading to a more convincing interpretation of the results because 'methods are tools for the answering of research questions and not vice versa' (Erzberger & Kelle, 2003, p. 482). The unique advantage of mixed methods is expected to generate an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon from multiple data sources, compared to using a single-method approach. In other words, a mixed methods allows comparing the results of different data types, exploring similarities and differences of the results, and broadening the understanding of the results (Cresswell, 2002; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010 & 1998).

From the perspectives of constructivism and interpretivism, the employment of mixed methods on shame expressions from the target population in relation to their context seems to be legitimate for generating research questions. From the quantitative tradition, hypotheses can be drawn from the previous research on shame and the results of this study can be compared with the existing theories and between the English and Korean conditions. In order to test a hypothesis, a survey can be conducted in which is convenient and efficient to recruit many respondents. From the qualitative tradition, the bilingual students' shame-expressing words can be collected and explored employing inductive logic or reasoning, which is likely to generate an in-depth understanding of bilinguals' emotion often through discovering interesting cases. In this way, mixed methods research can 'simultaneously address a range of confirmatory and exploratory questions with both the quantitative and qualitative approaches', or provide stronger inferences and opportunities 'for a greater assortment of divergent views' (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 33). Since addressing both confirmatory and exploratory questions is a major advantage of a mixed method approach, triangulation,

'the combinations and comparisons of multiple data sources, data collection and analysis procedures, research methods, investigators and inferences' (p. 27) needs to be carried out. A sequential mixed method can be designed by using three research questions, the first two of which can thoroughly answer either confirmatory or exploratory questions while the last question can be generated by the results of the two.

Data source. Exploring bilinguals' emotional expression from a holistic perspective, mixed methods allows collection of both qualitative and quantitative data in English and Korean from the same individuals. Such an aspect is especially crucial when considering the influence of culture. The English and Korean data can be collected from the same individuals, which eliminates the risks of the 'between-group' condition, in which those in Korea provided the data in Korean while those in the UK generated the data in English and the two groups were compared. In this between-group condition, it would be hard to argue whether the differences between the two groups comes from the cultural, linguistic, or individual differences of participants not to mention the interaction of all these factors. However, when the same individual produces both Korean and English data, the two language conditions can be compared with a more control over the cultural effect. The cultural influences on the individual's data can be revealed through further analysis by grouping and comparing the data with those of other participants from the same and different levels of cultural exposures. Indeed, Panayiotou notes that bilingual participants may offer 'an optimal population for a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural comparison studies' (Panayiotou, 2006, p. 187). By considering cultural influence in this way, this study can demonstrate the effect of culture on an individual's language use is revealed through the data analysis.

Measuring shame using questionnaires. One of the frequently used questionnaire types when inspecting emotional experiences is the use of a checklist of vocabularies of the target emotion. Hoblitzelle's Revised Shame-Guilt Scale (1982 in Harder & Zalma, 1990), for example, asks respondents to rate the degree to which each word describes themselves on 16 shame items (e.g. mortified, humiliated) and 20 guilt items (e.g. liable, culpable). While such a measurement has high face validity, it requires advanced language skills as some items represent sophisticated vocabulary. As these words are unlikely to be culturally equivalent yet difficult to translate, establishing the same set of questionnaires in both language conditions would be hard to achieve. It is also questionable whether respondents rate their level of shame-guilt experiences or the impression and nuisance that each word offers.

Alternatively, a shame-evoking scenario can be given with the items measuring the characteristics of shame with respect to the specific context. In this way, a scenario-based approach allows respondents to rate their shame and guilt experiences without relying on the terms provided. While scenario-based measures explicitly invite respondents to a shame-evoking situation, they implicitly assess the respondents' reactions that are conceptually aligned with shame. Such a method also has an advantage that the result does not rely on the respondents' own conceptualisation of shame. It also allows inclusion of the items measuring guilt so that the dynamics of shame can be compared to its neighbouring emotion.

When developing scenario-based questionnaires, Tangney and Dearing (2002) advise that scenarios need to include diverse settings and different behaviours in order not to provide a wide spectrum of shame-evoking contexts. Providing a concrete context with carefully designed items will in fact improve the discriminant validity by discerning shame from the negative self-esteem as such a sense of inferiority is a "less dynamic concept cantering on self-description" which is a stable trait, "largely independent of specific situations" (p 32).

2.7 Research Questions

Research on the ways shame is shaped by language and culture, as described in this literature review, provides a justification for the further study of Korean-English bilingual students' expression and experience of shame. Cross-linguistic variability of emotion terms suggests there is a possibility that people who speak different languages have different conceptual representations of emotions. For example, speakers of English and Korean may disagree on which emotions seem most similar to shame, or on the degree of overlap between words that describe shame. Alternatively, the underlying conceptual structure of shame in comparison to guilt could be fairly universal, and differences in how language maps onto the conceptual structures of negative self-conscious emotions could have little impact on the structures per se.

This chapter has demonstrated that shame and guilt are conceptually close enough to be categories in the same emotion family: negative self-conscious emotions. However, English speakers may say they are guilty when ashamed, while Korean speakers could express this emotion using shame-expressing words. Based on the literature review, three hypotheses regarding shame and its verbal expression were considered to develop research questions in this study using Pavlenko's (2009) interdisciplinary approach to the bilingual mental lexicon. First, shame and guilt are a single emotion, with two labels sharing conceptual representation, at least in English. Second, shame and guilt overlap, sharing

considerable parts of the emotion concepts. Third, shame and guilt are two different emotions exhibiting fairly distinctive conceptual differences (e.g. envy/jealousy in Russian), but expressing shame amongst speakers of English is rare. Testing all three hypotheses provides a theoretical reason for including guilt in the study of shame, as each hypothesis uncovers different aspects of shame and guilt. Developing the most appropriate research question(s) for the study of Korean-English bilingual students' shame needs to be addressed first.

If shame and guilt are a single emotion with two labels (the first hypothesis), then someone saying they are guilty when ashamed is perfectly reasonable, and it is the comparison of vocabulary items in English and Korean that will show the linguistic and cultural variations when expressing shame/guilt. Developing research questions from this hypothesis puts a strong emphasis on finding evidence that speakers of English and Korean conceptualise shame and guilt as the same emotion. For such a study it is more suitable to focus on monolingual speakers of English and Korean than Korean-English bilingual students.

However, if shame and guilt overlap (the second hypothesis), this could demonstrate that they are neighbouring emotions. Exploration will then be needed into what is shared and what is not between the two emotions, and how such commonalities and differences are found in the shame and guilt vocabulary items in English and Korean. One potential hypothesis for this research is that people in the guilt culture may consider shame as partially belonging to guilt, which is considered a more recognised and common emotion, hence legitimating English speakers saying they are guilty when ashamed. Cultural variations could be found when comparing the verbalisation of shame and guilt amongst speakers of English and Korean. Since the Korean culture is considered a shame culture, they may not need to find an alternative way of expressing shame but instead have developed a handful of emotion terms, as seen in the case of Chinese speakers. This approach is relevant to the anecdote shared in the introduction, and allows the design of this study to explore an explanation of why both the Korean learner of English and his Korean-English bilingual teacher in the English-speaking culture found it difficult to translate a Korean shame word into English.

Lastly, if shame and guilt are two different emotions but expressing shame is undesirable amongst the speakers of English only (the third hypothesis), it is possible that English speakers feel ashamed but express it as guilt while Korean speakers experience shame and express it accordingly, or that English speakers are less likely to feel ashamed than Korean speakers. A cultural difference such as this may correspond to how they verbalise their emotion, while becoming bilingual includes internalisation of how to use

emotion words appropriately through socialisation. For example, in the anecdote shared in the introduction, the Korean learner of the shame concept in English is heavily dependent on the Korean language, as he requires a translation of a Korean shame word. This could imply that either his English language proficiency is poor, or that his acculturation of English-speaking culture is in the early stage. The untranslatability shown by his English teacher could suggest that Korean-English bilinguals might have internalised how English speakers express shame but have poor metacognitive knowledge about the variations between the English and Korean emotion words, as demonstrated by her poor translation skills. This might be an effect of her L2 English, shown by how she maps emotion words in the two languages or how she conceptualises shame. In conclusion, research driven by the third hypothesis requires the participation of Korean students with a diverse range of English proficiency, taking into consideration their exposure to English-speaking culture, which can be pursued after addressing the second hypothesis.

Research questions in this study are mostly influenced by the second hypothesis, admitting that both the conceptualisation and verbal representation of shame can be different from those of guilt. Differences between English and Korean languages may also be found. Findings from previous studies on shame and guilt construct the definitions of shame and guilt used in this study, and function as a reference point for what the target population in this study is likely to show in their verbal and behavioural performances. By structuring sub-questions for each research question focusing on the exploration of how Korean-English bilingual students conceptualise shame in comparison to guilt, and how they verbally express such emotions in the respective languages, this study aims to contribute to the understanding of shame in both language communities, as well as discovering the influence that studying in English has on the Korean students' experience and expression of shame.

Three research questions were generated with three sub-questions for each (Table 2.1). The first research question aims to provide the range of vocabulary items accessible to the target population in their real lives. That is, it does not aim to test how many vocabulary items they know in each language, but to collect the words that they actually use when they feel ashamed in reality. Testing this hypothesis does not reveal if they acquired the shame vocabulary items in both languages in the way monolingual speakers of English and Korean do, but maps out what kind of emotion words they use to describe shame in both languages. The purpose of the second research question is to provide non-verbal aspects of shame in comparison to guilt that can be applied to both English and Korean contexts with the least influence of culture. The sub-questions of the second research question are developed to test

the features of shame and guilt revealed in prior research (as discussed in Section 2.4), especially in close relation to the contexts/issues that Korean-English bilingual students face. The third research question tries to integrate the findings by answering the two previous research questions. Doing so may result in building an association between the psychological, behavioural and verbal aspects of shame in the two languages. Alternatively, it may show the effect of L2 English on how shame is conceptualised or how shame words are mapped, revealing the issue of becoming bilingual.

Table 2.1
Research Questions

Research questions	Sub-questions
Research Question 1. How do Korean–English bilingual students verbally express shame in Korean and English?	1.1 How do bilingual students employ shame expressing words (target words hereafter) in Korean and in English? 1.2 Does their current and previous cultural exposure influence the bilingual students' target word use? 1.3 If bilinguals use target words significantly differently between the two languages, how does it relate to emotional experience between the two language contexts?
Research Question 2. How do Korean–English bilingual students experience shame, and how do they react in Korean-speaking and English-speaking contexts?	2.1 Do Korean-English bilingual students' shame and guilt differ between the two language contexts? 2.2 Do they show the hypothesised patterns of shame and guilt in both language conditions? That is, are there positive relationships between self-focus and the avoidance tendency, and between behaviour-focus and the solution-seeking tendency in both languages? 2.3 Do the patterns found from RQ2.2 change when the inter-dependent self is applied instead of the independent self in the analysis?
Research Question 3. Are there any systematic differences in experiencing and expressing shame among the Korean-English bilingual students in relation to their cultural exposure?	3.1 Is there a group difference based on the current and previous cultural exposure? 3.2 Can the avoidance and solution-seeking tendencies be explained by self-focus and behaviour-focus, and how does exposure to the English culture affect these relationships? 3. Can the use of a specific target word be explained by the participants' experience of shame and guilt, taking into account exposure to the English culture?

CHAPTER 3 Methodology and Data Analysis

The philosophical and theoretical foundations of the research design for mixed methods was influenced by constructivism and interpretivism and justified through the literature review, with the current research aiming at integrating the qualitative and quantitative studies on bilinguals' emotional experience and expression. The integrity of the overall research design of this is derived from three components: (a) the valid conceptualisation of *shame* in relation to its neighbouring emotion, *guilt*; (b) the equivalence of the data obtained in the two languages employed by bilingual speakers; and (c) the consideration of individual differences and cultural influences as revealed in prior research.

The first component, in particular, has to be dealt with rigorously because the operational definition affects the overall research design. Given that the study of bilinguals' emotion is a relatively new area of research, it is necessary to establish precise operational definitions of the target emotion and its verbal expressions that are derived from the literature review and at the same time most appropriate for this particular research. Section 3.1 provides the operational definition of shame used in this research, in comparison with guilt. The second component, the comparability of the data relating to each language, determines the nature of the data and guides the data analysis techniques. That is, the English and Korean data needs to be collected under identical conditions for comparison; or if that is not possible, under comparable conditions. The third component is perhaps the most difficult to deal with, and it needs to be considered at all stages of the research before reaching a conclusion. Ideally, this research would have included an equal number of participants from the same cultural background based on the inclusion criteria, to separate the interplay between language and culture, so that the effect of culture on that of language could have been discovered through controlled comparisons during the data analysis. However, while it is commonly appreciated that social sciences researchers rarely have a control over cultural influences and individual differences, this study faces complex issues that result from the interaction between cultures and individuals. These include how much individuals have already been exposed to English-speaking and Korean-speaking cultures, which culture is more dominant in their current social setting, and how such exposures have impacted upon the ways in which they use each language. Acknowledging such issues, individual differences and cultural influences were considered in the overall research design.

These three components are not independent from one another and can be better understood when considered together. Therefore, a protocol of how to conceptualise the

target emotion, its psychological, behavioural, and verbal aspects was prepared prior to the data collection based on the literature review (Section 3.1). Section 3.2 explains the application of mixed methods in this study including the two instrument tools designed and used particularly for this study. The methods used were tested and refined through a pilot study before the data collection (Section 3.3) followed by the data analysis protocols (Section 3.4).

3.1 Operational Definitions of Shame in comparison to Guilt

This study conceptualises shame and guilt as self-conscious emotions constructed through social interaction. Individuals under the same cultural influence or users of the same language are likely to exhibit similar patterns but may not necessarily exhibit identical patterns because of the interplay between cultures and languages; thus, generalisation of the findings into a broader population is not ideal because the ways in which shame and its related emotions are defined and function are never static but vary across time, cultures, and individuals. This also emphasises the importance of defining shame and guilt in ways that work across time, cultures, and individuals.

The operational definitions of shame and guilt in this research are rooted in the existing definitions of shame discussed in Chapter 2 and created by combining Wierzbicka's (1999) and Tangney's (1995a) definitions. Shame is a negative self-conscious emotion conceptualised as having specific psychological and behavioural aspects, distinguishable from guilt (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1

Operational Definitions of Shame Versus Guilt

	Psychological Orientation	Behavioural Response
Shame	Self	Avoidance
Guilt	Behaviour or event	Solution

Psychological orientation refers to cognitive and emotive responses that immediately follows as an emotional arousal. The physiological response (i.e., blushing or sweating), which usually occurs together with, or before the cognitive and emotive responses, is also included because such an aspect was inferred from the participants' verbal responses (i.e., a participant said, 'I'd blush if that happen to me.') rather than being directly measured by equipment that measures physical response. Such a narrative reveals the participant's

subjective interpretation of his or her emotional state, hence, it is appropriate to regard as a psychological orientation.

Behavioural response contains reactions and verbal responses followed by emotional arousal. Because the behavioural response usually requires more time than the psychological orientation, it is often considered to be the result of the particular psychological orientation. Hence, a pattern found between a specific psychological orientation and a particular behavioural response is often regarded as a potential cause and effect. It is also important to acknowledge that psychological orientation is involuntary, while behavioural response is voluntary, suggesting emotional regulation focuses on the modification of the behavioural response. That is, individuals may find it hard to control where their attention naturally goes (psychological orientation), but their behavioural responses can be self-monitored, regulated, and then performed.

Constructing shame as having these two aspects enables comparing shame with guilt as well as with shame concepts used in the other studies noted in the literature review. This helps to overcome the shortcoming of having limited numbers of participants in this study. First, the current conceptualisation of shame as having psychological and behavioural aspects makes it possible to compare shame with other negative self-conscious emotions, including guilt, controlling the influence of culture. For example, if a Korean–English bilingual is more ashamed in Korean but guiltier in English, the analysis can go further to explore whether their high level of shame experience in Korean comes from the high level of self-focus (psychological orientation) or a strong avoidance tendency (behavioural response) or both.

Wierzbicka's definitions of shame and guilt are also adopted in this study, as they facilitate the analysis of bilingual individuals' emotional narratives independently from the influences of particular emotion words and phrases. These definitions are not shaped by a particular culture or social norms, and are thus applicable to both English-speaking and Korean-speaking cultures. For this reason, Wierzbicka's definitions are especially useful for analysing the emotional narrative, because the operational definition of shame assumes no preference for any cultures or languages. That being said, participants' narratives can be examined through the lens of the equivalent emotional concept in both languages with the less influence of vocabularies that they employ and the less dependence on translation. Such an analysis can produce more profound results when the two language conditions produce different patterns or when the components of shame and guilt are compared.

Second, the operational definition of shame in this research enables different notions of self to be used—independent and interdependent selves—and for other psychological

aspects to be taken into account, such as the influence of other individuals, and to include cultural influences. It is then the researcher's responsibility to decide how to conceptualise self in studies of bilinguals, especially insofar as some bilinguals show different personality traits in the two language conditions while others do not. To reflect the cultural influence of the UK and Korea when bilinguals exhibit their self-concepts in the social context, this study conceptualises the interdependent self as an expansion of independent self and also acknowledges the influence of other individuals as part of arousal of self-conscious emotions, by including a relational aspect of self to the independent self (Table 3.2). Comparing the effect of the independent and interdependent selves will lead the analysis to consider cultural influence, rather than letting cultural influence lead the analytic process.

Table 3.2

The Conceptualisation of Shame between When Independent and Interdependent Selves are Used in the Analysis

	Psychological Orientation	Behavioural Response
Independent Self	Self	Avoidance
Interdependent Self	Self, Relationship	Avoidance

Third, examining Korean–English bilinguals' shame from multiple aspects drawn from existing studies helps to overcome the issues inherent in this research resulting from the involvement of a limited number of participants, because it is possible to understand bilinguals' emotions through comparisons with other existing studies on shame whose shame concept corresponds to one of or both aspects of shame in this research. Since the operational definition of shame meets both Wierzbicka's (1999) definition (which is suitable for qualitative data analysis from verbal data) and Tangney's (1995a) definition (which works well for quantitative data analysis using survey data) the findings from this research can be compared with existing research, potentially including studies which employed different methodologies and adopted different philosophical stances. In fact, some researchers have started to expand on the characteristics of shame by adding the orientation towards others (Gao, Wang & Qian, 2010), demonstrating when such an orientation leads to the avoidance tendency and when it does not.

Lastly, the operational definitions of shame and guilt used in this study are compatible with two different paradigms led by Tangney and Wierzbicka, which allow for the development of two comparable assessment tools using emotion scripts. The premise of this

approach lies in what Sterns and Sterns (1985) call 'emotionology', which refers to how people in a particular culture identify, classify, and recognise emotions. In other words, bilingual participants' imagination of their experience of shame may vary depending on their subjective experiences as well as the language conditions. Therefore, a scenario-based instrument allows bilingual participants to imagine themselves in a situation where they feel shame, guilt or both, which reveals differences and similarities among their experiences and expressions of shame. A Test of Self-Conscious Emotion (ToSCE)–a psychometric test designed to measure shame and guilt–is developed employing Tangney's (1995a) methodology; as a questionnaire that uses Likert scales, it is suitable for quantitative analysis. The questions of the ToSCE were modified to collect the participants' verbalisations of shame and guilt by adapting Wierzbicka's (1999) Assessment of Self-Conscious Narrative (AoSCN).

In summary, the definition of shame used in this study is of a negative self-conscious emotion that occurs when an individual's attention is directed towards himself or herself (psychological orientation), and such self-focus leads to showing an avoidance tendency (behavioural response). In contrast, guilt is defined as another negative self-conscious emotion that occurs when an individual's attention is on his or her own behaviour or the event that caused discomfort (psychological orientation), which results in attempts at rectification (behavioural response).

3.2 Mixed Methods

Two different types of data were collected from the same individuals in English and Korean, and a brief interaction between the participants and the researcher followed when clarification and confirmation were essential. Conducting quantitative and qualitative research together, however, comes with challenges of combination as well as challenges on both sides (Creswell, 2002), some of which are compressive knowledge and skillsets with quantitative and qualitative research and strategies of dealing with how to collect and analyse both data types. Following aspects were considered for the overall quality of the research design. To increase the reliability of this research, the data collection and analysis processes were clearly described so that other researchers could replicate them. A protocol for the data collection process was prepared to increase reliability. For internal validity, patterns were created from logical explanations amongst the participants with the consideration of different conditions. To increase the validity, participants who meet the specific criteria were recruited until the number of participants met the requirements for carrying out statistical analyses.

Having these in mind, two instruments using shame-inducing scenarios were developed and pre-tested before the main studies.

While bilinguals' narratives could be obtained through interviews, using a written, open-ended questionnaire was deemed an appropriate method for collecting bilinguals' shame-related verbal expressions because of its benefits for this particular study and the potential problems of relying on interviews. The data obtained through interviews would be naturalistic in that it is real-time data generated by actual conversations, which can produce rich data by capturing not only the content of the verbal conversations but also audio and visual information. While such data might be rich, a questionnaire was adopted over interviews for the following reasons.

First, by using an online questionnaire the effect of the uncontrolled relationship between the interviewer and interviewees can be avoided. Since the given scenarios are designed to invoke shame, being asked to describe their emotions to an interviewer and repeating this process could create uncomfortable pressure for the interviewees. That is, the interview context itself can become shame-inducing. If this were the case, it would be impossible to distinguish whether the negative emotions shown by the interviewees are their genuine reactions to the given scenarios or the consequence of employing an inappropriate research method: an interview.

Second, even if the study successfully controls the interview context to justify the claim that the negative emotions that interviewees experience are their direct responses to the scenarios, it cannot be assumed that the interview responses are more natural and genuine than those from the questionnaire. If an interviewee provides an interview-appropriate narrative, the collected data are already contaminated from the data collection stage because such data are likely to contain highly socially acceptable and desirable narratives only.

Third, various interlocutor-related factors might affect both what the interviewees say and how they do so, as they will need to generate their narratives twice, once in English and once in Korean. In this condition, ethnicity and language proficiency might also represent major challenges. Interviewees might not feel comfortable with answering the same questions twice from the same researcher, especially when they have already spoken in Korean to this researcher, who is ethnically Korean, and then are required to do so again in English. In this case it might seem unnatural to the interviewee that two native Koreans would talk in English. Having another non-Korean-speaking (or a non-native Korean) interviewer would create more complex and undesirable issues brought by having separate interviewers. The arrangement between the two interviewers and an interviewee would be difficult and time-

consuming. Employing and training two interviewers might create additional uncontrolled compounding factors because any significant differences between the participant's English and Korean conversations might result from having two interviewers who are culturally and linguistically different. In addition, employing two culturally and linguistically different interviewers to collect narrative data would create a qualitatively different context and thus a set of unbalanced data to compare.

Lastly, inducing negative emotions in person can be ethically problematic, especially when the interviewees are not informed of their potential exposure to shame and other negative emotions in advance. While participants may freely drop out from the online questionnaire, it is hard to do so in person. For these reasons, it was deemed most reasonable and sensitive to collect bilinguals' emotional narratives through open-ended questionnaires with no influence from the presence of actual interlocutors (Wei & Moyer, 2008).

The two questionnaires used in this study were created by modifying Tangney's Test of Self-Conscious Affections-3 (Tangney, Dearing, Wagner, & Gramzow, 2000), which is a scenario-based questionnaire using a Likert scale to measure the self-conscious emotions including shame, guilt and pride. Scenarios in the ToSCA were either copied or altered to measure the experience of shame and guilt in the educational, professional, and social settings that university students typically encounter. The ToSCE was first developed as a year-long master's degree project, and its validity and reliability were tested as a psychological assessment tool to examine shame and guilt.

The ToSCE presents 10 scenarios in which university students in both UK and Korea might experience shame. Each scenario includes a brief description of the context, keeping in mind sensitive issues like gender, language, and cultural diversity. The scenario order is fixed as shown below. The first three scenarios include the primary aspect of the educational context where this researcher was particularly interested in collecting shame narratives; all of which are scenarios adopted from Tangney's TOSCA. Positive scenarios were alternated with the negative scenarios, and towards the end to counteract boredom or tiredness and motivate participants to carry on their participation.

- You and your friend are talking in a big lecture class or seminar, and only you get into trouble. (Lecture)
- You and your friend are at a conference. Halfway through it, you notice that your friend is snoring. (Snore)

- You walked out of an exam thinking you did extremely well. (Exam)
- At school, your essay was rewarded as the best essay of the year. The school committee asks your permission to present your essay on the school website. (Essay)
- On your friend's blog/facebook page, you found out that your friend uploaded a funny picture of you that was taken when you were out of control. (Picture)
- You had a dinner with friends one evening, and you felt especially witty and attractive. Later, your friend's date visits your blog/Facebook page more often than usual. (Date)
- You break something at work. (Break)
- You make a mistake at work and find out that a co-worker is blamed for the error. (Blame)
- You and a group of co-workers worked very hard together on a project. Unexpectedly, only you receive a bonus because the project was such a success. (Bonus)
- You started to do volunteer work. However, your experience turns out to be frustrating and time-consuming. You think seriously about quitting, but then you see how happy you are making others feel. (Volunteer)

An example of the *Lecture* scenario, the scenario served to guide individual survey-takers to visualise themselves as attending a lecture with other students, using their imagination based on their own experiences, making this hypothetical situation as natural and realistic as possible for each individual. The 10 scenarios are designed to provide a variety of shame experience. While *Lecture* and *Snore* provide a context surrounded by others, some scenarios offer a solitary situation (i.e. *Break* and *Exam*). The relationships with other individuals in the scene also vary from a friend, a friend's date and a co-worker.

3.2.1 Test of Self-Conscious Emotion (ToSCE): Assessment of shame and guilt.

ToSCE is a questionnaire that examines an individuals' experiences of shame and guilt. ToSCE was used as a primary tool for answering RQ2 and as a complementary tool for answering RQ3. The 10 scenarios were presented with Likert-scaled items that each implicitly measures how strongly the participants experience shame and guilt. The constructs of shame and guilt in the ToSCE include the psychological, physiological, and behavioural aspects of shame and guilt researched by Tangney and Dearing (2002), which fit the

operational definitions of shame and guilt using psychological orientations and behavioural responses. The language and culture related aspects, including culture-specific vocabularies, idioms, and expressions, were excluded in the items to increase the validity of the ToSCE and so that it could be comprehensible to English users from diverse backgrounds.

The ToSCE was translated from English to Korean by two Korean–English bilinguals whose first language is Korean. Their translations were compared and examined, followed by the final examination by another Korean–English bilingual to validate the equivalence of the two language versions. Through this translation process, the potential risk of changes in the meanings and nuances of identical sentences between the two languages is likely to be minimized. The final version was used in both the pilot and main studies. The two language versions of the ToSCE are attached in Appendix A.

3.2.2 AoSCN: Assessment of the verbal expression of shame and guilt. The AoSCN is an open-ended questionnaire that collects individuals' verbal expressions of shame in Korean and English using the same scenarios as in the ToSCE. Participants verbally describe what thoughts and emotions they would have, what they would say in the situation, and if and how they would share such experiences with someone else. The AoSCN was used as a primary tool for answering both RQ1 and RQ2, and as a complementary tool for answering RQ3. The AoSCN is attached in Appendix A.

3.3 Pilot Study

A pilot study was carried out by focusing on the appropriateness of the proposed assessment tools and research techniques to be used in the study. Table 3.3 shows the aim of the pilot study, which is to examine whether the proposed methods are suitable for this research. When doing so RQs 1 & 2 were considered except for RQ3 which was a next step based on how RQs 1 & 2 were answered. The data for the pilot study was collected between 15 March and 15 May. As a small-scale qualitative research, this pilot study only included Korean overseas students.

Table 3.3
Overview of Pilot Study

Research Questions	Method	Goal of Pilot Study
Research Question 1 (RQ1): How do Korean-English bilingual students verbally express shame in Korean and English?	AoSCN	1. Examine whether the AoSCN is appropriate to answer the RQ1. 2. Collect initial data to propose the refined data collection and analysis process. 3. Make modifications if necessary.
Research Question 2 (RQ2): How do Korean–English bilingual students experience shame, and how do they react in Korean-speaking and English-speaking contexts?	ToSCE	1. Examine whether the ToSCE is appropriate to answer the RQ2. 2. Propose hypotheses and expected patterns. 3. Finalise the set of sub-questions.
Further discussion on RQ1 and RQ2	Interview	1. Evaluate the validity of the initial data with the participants. 2. Explore potential explanations for results of RQ1 and RQ2. 3. Finalise the data collection process.

3.3.1 The data collection process and case selection. Participants completed the prototype of the AoSCN and ToSCE in the fixed order: first in English and then in Korean. From a theoretical perspective, studies have shown that bilinguals' emotional experiences tend to be stronger in their first language (Harris, Gleason, & Ayçiçeği, 2006). To minimise the impact of L1, participants completed the English set first and proceeded to the Korean set a week later. From a practical perspective, the scale of the pilot study was not large enough to carry out statistical analysis, and thus a controlled data collection process was preferred to generate homogenous samples.

The 10 participants selected for the pilot study had completed undergraduate studies in Korea and then continued to study a postgraduate degree programme in the US or the UK. In other words, they were exposed to the university context in both language conditions. Among them, an individual interview was conducted with four participants. The four cases included two females and two males, between 28 and 31 years old, all of whom were born and grew up in Korea, moved to the US for postgraduate studies and have been living in English-speaking countries for at least four years.

3.3.2 Research Question 1 and the appropriateness of the AoSCN. The shame expressing vocabularies were collected using the prototype AoSCN. Because the literature

review demonstrated that the vocabularies for guilt and embarrassment could be used instead of shame expressing words in English-speaking contexts, words describing shame, embarrassment, and guilt were set as target words. These target words were collected from the participants' narratives. The three target word categories—shame, guilt, and embarrassment—were compared between languages and across participants. Emotion words belonging to someone else than the speakers themselves (i.e. "my parents would feel emotion A") were excluded from analysis because this study is interested in the speaker's own emotional expressions, not those perceived in others. Table 3.4 illustrates the vocabularies describing the three categories of the target word in English and Korean.

Table 3.4
Target words found in the Pilot Study

Emotion	English target words	Frequency	Korean target words	Frequency
Shame	ashamed	5	Min-mang	10 (total=26)
			chang-pi	9
			boo-koo-reo-um (shy)	5
			jjok-pal-lim	1
			jin-ddam(sweating)	1
Embarrassment	embarrassed/embarrassing	15	dang-whang	14 (total=16)
			nan-cheo	1
			doo-gun doo-gun (heart-pounding)	1
Guilt	guilty	7	joi-chek-gam	2 (total=5)
			ja-goi-gam	2
			ja-chek	1

Note. The total numbers of the target word use in English and Korean were 27 and 47 respectively.

In Korean narratives, shame words were most frequently used among the three categories (26 times) and five different shame words were discovered. In English narratives, shame words were the least used (five times) and only one shame word appeared (ashamed). Instead, 'embarrassed' or 'embarrassing' was the most popular expression in English, which was also popular in Korean (15 times in English; 16 times in Korean). Because the use of target words was low in English compared to Korean, additional analyses were conducted. First, analyses of whether fewer emotion words were used in English compared to Korean and if such a difference is relevant to the fewer occurrences of the English target words were conducted. The results showed this was not the case because, while two participants used more emotion words in Korean than in English, the other two showed a reversed pattern.

Next, scrutiny was given to the distribution of the target words among the four participants because it is possible that one participant used significantly more shame words in Korean, influencing the overall number of words used. Analysis revealed that this was not the case. All participants employed more shame words in Korean than in English while such a pattern was not found for the other categories: embarrassment and guilt.

The last step of analysis focused on the comparison of the target words between the two language conditions. The results revealed that, in the same scenario context, a Korean-English bilingual might say that he or she felt "embarrassed" in English but "ashamed" in Korean—referring to the same experience. This analysis was performed with a focus on the use of shame words as they alone appeared 31 times throughout all four participants. In particular, the analysis explored how Korean shame words were expressed in English and vice versa.

Overall, the pilot study showed that the AoSCN is appropriate for collecting shame narratives in both languages. It also revealed both systematic and non-systematic differences observed in English and Korean narratives, requiring further analysis among individuals and between languages to discover a pattern. The pilot study revealed that shame words were more widely used in Korean than in English, and this result supported the hypothesis driven by the literature review that the verbal expression of shame would not be common in an English conversation. Instead, other English target words were paired with the Korean shame words. Such differences support a hypothesis that bilinguals might express their emotions in the same scenario differently between English and Korean. If these patterns were found not only among UK-based participants but also among Korea-based students who have less exposure to the English-speaking culture, it would suggest that speakers of English as a foreign language may use English emotive vocabularies similar to those in the English-speaking culture, showing the strong effect of language over culture.

3.3.3 Research Question 2 and the appropriateness of ToSCE. The ToSCE measures the experience of shame in English and Korean to answer RQ2. 10 participants in the pilot study completed the ToSCE, and the findings showed that they experienced shame in both language conditions, which confirms that the scenarios used in this study are shame-evoking in both language conditions. With a sample size of ten, an interaction effect was found between language and emotion ($F = 12.2$, $p < 0.001$). The participants tended to experience a higher level of shame in Korean than in English (M(Korean) = 4.17, M(English) = 3.54) but the reversed pattern was found with guilt experience (Figure 3.1). In other words, participants were prone to experiencing shame in Korean but guilt in English. In combination

with the results in the previous section using the AoSCN, it generates the hypothesis that the use of shame words may be positively correlated to the degree of shame experience.

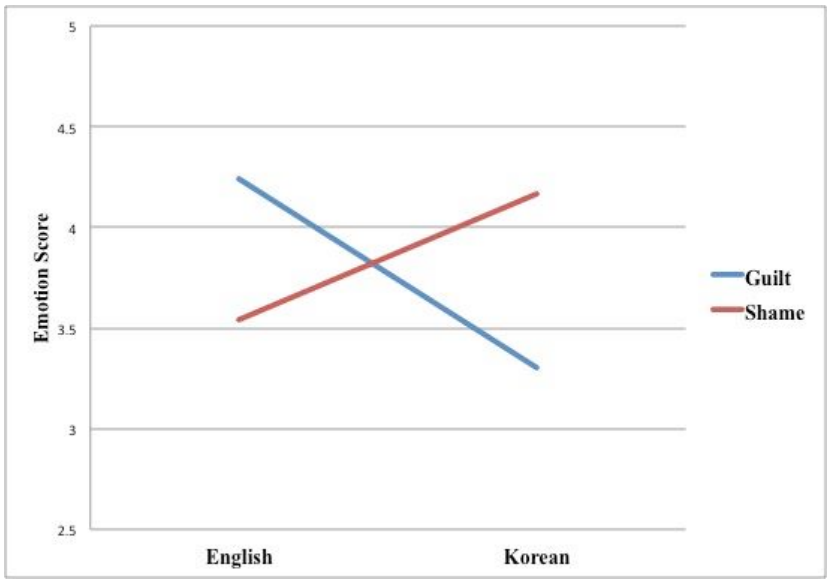

Figure 3.1 The interaction between the experience of emotions (shame and guilt) and language (English and Korean) among ten Korean-English bilinguals (the Likert scale used indicates 5 = very likely, 4 = likely, 3 = maybe, 2 = unlikely, and 1 = very unlikely)

This result might be useful when explaining the differences between the frequency of the use of shame words between English and Korean. To be more specific, it is not just the mean score but all participants' shame scores were higher in Korean than in English while their guilt score showed a reversed pattern. The high shame score in Korean and the high frequency of shame word use in Korean complement each other. However, such a pattern was not found with guilt. Although the guilt score was high in English, the frequency of guilt word use was not. Since this study's main focus is shame, the case of guilt was not investigated further.

The findings of the pilot study confirm that it is worth examining the overall patterns of the bilingual participants' emotional experiences across the two language conditions, using the assessment tools and research techniques proposed. For example, it is possible that the interaction effect between language and culture (Figure 3.1) is shared among the UK-based students only, while such an effect is not found among the Korea-based students. If this hypothesis was tested and the interaction effect was evident among the UK-based students only, the result would indicate that it is the overseas experience that changes the ways in which bilingual students process emotion across languages.

3.3.4 Validation of research design. A semi-structured interview with the four participants was conducted to discuss each participant's narratives, focussing on understanding the differences that the participant showed between English and Korean as well as their overall experiences as participants. This pilot interview was especially useful for understanding what it is like to participate in this study, determining whether the participants found certain questions difficult or confusing, or whether they ever felt uncomfortable or reluctant when answering them. All participants were surprised to learn how different their verbal expressions were in the two languages and endeavoured to explain the reasons. No participant could confidently recall the order of language that they completed the questionnaire. One of the participants even strongly believed that he did the Korean set first, which was wrong. Based on the interview, the order of language did not seem to influence participants' answers at the conscious level.

While the results from the AoSCN reveal that the bilingual participants' verbal expressions differ between the two languages, the interviewees were surprised how different their English and Korean narratives were and struggled to offer a valid reason for such different responses. However, all four interviews confirmed that the questionnaires in the two languages were equivalent, ruling out potential problems of translation issues.

Alterations were made to the final version of AoSCN as a participant reported some questions were confusing in the AoSCN reported challenges they faced during the process. Such issues were revised and modified to direct participants to fill out the questionnaires without confusion. This modified version was tested with one participant before the data collection.

3.3.5 Conclusions from the pilot study. The pilot study confirms that the two instruments were appropriate for answering the research questions, and that interesting findings might be revealed through their use with the target population in the main study. It also demonstrates that the research methods and techniques used in the pilot study were suitable for use in the main study. The research questions and the methods of this research are aligned with the theoretical perspective that language functions as a tool for expressing one's emotion, and that similarities and differences are likely to be found between the two language conditions.

3.4 Data Collection and Procedures

3.4.1 Data collection process. The data were collected between December 2014 and January 2018 through Qualtrics.com, a web-based questionnaire survey tool. The online

platform enabled efficient collection of data and allowed the participants to be drawn from the wider spectrum of Korean–English bilinguals.

All participants took the ToSCE in both languages first and then moved on to the AoSCN. The language order was randomly presented for both tests. The ground rule was that the participants complete the ToSCE first and then the AoSCN to provide equal exposure to the shame-related scenarios and the short-sentence items attached to each scenario. Participants who agreed to be contacted by the researcher for data validation were included in the final dataset.

3.4.2 Sampling. The snowballing technique was used to find Korean–English bilingual participants considering issues of convenience and accessibility in recruiting students from both the UK and Korea. This included sending out flyers to global colleges and to Korean overseas students at universities in the UK.

The UK-based participants were recruited online from various Korean societies at universities in the UK and other online communities, including the University of Cambridge, the University of Glasgow, Imperial College of London, the London School of Economics, the University of Edinburgh, and the University College of London. The Korea-based participants were recruited from global colleges, including Seoul National University, Yonsei University, Korea University, Hannam University, and the University of Utah Asia Campus. Students from the University of Utah Asia Campus were recruited from a psychology lecture, and they received psychology credits by completing the questionnaire. Students from other universities were recruited via visits to lectures or via social network contact with those who had completed the questionnaires.

Overseas students in language-learning courses in the UK were excluded because their English might not be fluent enough to express their emotions in English, making it hard to justify them as being bilingual speakers, and their cultural exposure might differ from that of full-time university students.

3.4.3. Selection process. Among those who completed the questionnaires and agreed to contact with the researcher, those who met the following criteria were included in this study:

- Participants are currently enrolled or have recently graduated from universities in the United Kingdom or South Korea at which English is used as a teaching medium.
- Participants are sequential bilinguals who speak Korean as their first language in South Korea and learned English afterwards.

- Participants provide their personal information, including their educational history, language background and cultural exposure, also confirming that Korean and English are their two most frequently using languages.

3.4.4 Participants. 41 Korean-English bilinguals were included in this study. Initially 44 participants were selected but three participants were excluded as they answered the English questionnaire in Korean or vice versa. Participants' ages ranged from 19 – 51, with a mean age of 24.2, and three participants' ages undetermined. One participant wrote "24 Western age". The Korean age system is different from the international standard age system and they are usually 1-2 years older according to the Korean age system. However, it is unsure which age system other participants used though it is normally assumed that Koreans use from the international standard age system when asked in English or completing a survey. 34 participants were enrolled in the undergraduate programme while 17 participants were in the postgraduate programme. The countries that the participants lived in for a year or more (n = 22) were Malaysia, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, the Philippines, Switzerland, Austria, Australia, Italy, Thailand, Germany, Tanzania, and New Zealand.

Table 3.5 summarises the participants by their current cultural contexts (the UK or Korea) with their sex and level of exposure to English-speaking culture.

Table 3.5
Summary of Participants

Characteristics	UK (n = 20)	Korea (n = 21)	All (N = 41)
Sex			
Male	8	9	17
Female	12	12	24
Level of Exposure of English Culture			
No	0	7	7
Low (< 1 year)	0	5	5
High (≥ 1 year)	20	9	29

When exploring cultural effects, the participants were grouped using two criteria. The first criterion was whether their current educational setting is situated in the UK or Korea, which reflects the influence of the current culture regarding how English is spoken. Those who are studying in a UK university are living in a British culture in which English is the

dominant language used on campus and in the larger community. However, the contextual condition for those who go to a global college in Korea is different. Although English is primarily used in their academic work, since Korean is mainly used outside of the campus, they are not only mainly exposed to the Korean culture but are likely to be expected to socialise in the Korean manner. For such significant contextual differences, those who are in the UK and Korea are referred as UK-based bilinguals and Korea-based bilinguals, respectively. The group difference in their English usage is likely to reflect the current effect of using English in the native English and non-native English cultures. In other words, it may show how differently a bilingual operates English in British culture as compared to Korean culture. Differences in their Korean use would generate an interesting aspect of bilinguals' lives, as such a difference shows the effect of the second language on the first language's use.

The second criterion was the participants' overall exposure to the English-speaking culture outside of Korea, including their current cultural context. Seven participants had no exposure (no exposure group), five participants had less than a year of exposure (low exposure group), and 29 participants had a year and more of exposure (high exposure group). The purpose of the short stays among the low exposure group was internships and language courses during the long vacation periods, while the those in the high exposure group all spent at least an academic year in the English-speaking countries. The Korea-based participants were spread into the three categories while all UK-based participants belonged to the high exposure group.

This study featured slightly more female participants (n = 24) than male ones (n = 17). However, the overall number of participants from each country was similar and so were the ratios of male and female participants from both groups. Therefore, it is unlikely that the unequal number of participants of both sexes would significantly affect how the research questions were answered. It is worth pointing out that among the 20 UK-based participants 10 female participants had prior exposure to English-speaking culture for a year or more, whereas only three male participants had such experience. This seems to have resulted from the non-stratified sampling technique. One potential reason is that Korean men are restricted from going abroad for long periods before completing their mandatory military service in their 20s.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

This study adhered to the ethical guidelines of the British Educational Research Association (2012) and the *Code of Ethics and Conduct* produced by the British

Psychological Society (2009). Data were collected after the approval from the research ethics committees at the Faculty of Education. While no major ethical concerns were anticipated, the author of the study holds full responsibility for any potential ethical issues that might occur during or after the research participation.

When the participants started an online questionnaire, an informed consent form with instruction appeared first (Appendix A). Those who accepted the conditions proceeded to the questionnaire. Data was collected through the participants' email addresses and was kept confidential, with the individual data being given IDs starting with their current cultural context (UK or Korea) and a random number for identification.

Participation was made as voluntary as possible to minimise any unnecessary psychological discomfort. Participants were encouraged to take a break between the ToSCE and the AoSCN. By clicking the same link using the same device, the participants could continue to participate, within a two-week period, from the last page saved. They could easily withdraw from the questionnaire at any time by closing the window. Participants who were contacted after completing the online survey had three options for interaction, in-person, online, or phone-based contact—whichever they preferred. Before the contact, the informed consent form was given to participants along with verbal instructions (Appendix A). The contact proceeded after the interviewee's agreement.

3.6 Data Analysis

The data analysis procedure was framed to answer the three research questions respectively, each of which explored by answering several sub-research questions. The data analysis for RQ1 (titled as "Study I") used data from AoSCN only, while the data analysis for RQ2 (titled as "Study II") and RQ3 (titled as "Study III"), used data from both AoSCN and ToSCE. Study III was conducted based on the results of Studies I and II. The two main data analysis techniques were a content analysis focusing on shame expressions in individuals' emotional narratives, and a statistical analysis looking for exclusive features of shame, including comparisons of shame and guilt, and the effect of current and previous cultural exposure on the patterns.

The overall data analysis process involved both deductive and inductive approaches, as proposed by Huberman and Miles (1998), who emphasised the benefits of employing a mixed methods design. In many ways, the research design was deductive, as this study aims to compare the results between the English and Korean conditions and find the effect of culture on these findings. Although the differences were loosely defined, the overall analysis

was focused on finding differences between Korean and English data within and between individuals. While the deductive approach provided a reliable framework to focus on research questions, each step of analysis employed the inductive approach. In the end, the application of both approaches enabled the research questions to be fully addressed while allowing other related issues and unexpected findings to be discovered.

The data collected from the two assessments, AoSCN and ToSCE, were first analysed independently from each other for the purpose of answering RQ1 and RQ2 and then triangulated for answering RQ3. The details of each data analysis process were explained in the following sections: 3.7 Study I, 3.8 Study II, and 3.9 Study III. When analysing the quantitative data, *R studio*, a computer-assisted statistical programme, was used as the primary tool. When analysing the qualitative data, a coding framework was generated, and several decisions were made within and between the different stages. Part of the qualitative data analyses included carrying out interrater reliability tests for Studies I & II.

3.7. Study I: Data Analysis for Research Question 1

The aim of Study I is to compare a participant's English and Korean narratives to explore how bilingual students verbally express their experience of shame. In particular, the data analysis in Study I focused on the use of particular vocabularies that exhibit the speaker's experiences of shame.

3.7.1 Coding framework of Study I. The coding framework developed from the pilot study was used to collect vocabularies expressing shame, identified as target words. The lexical investigation search focused on the frequency and range of the target words. In other words, how many target words a participant used (range of target word) and how often these words are used (frequency of target word) were identified per scenario in each language condition and summed up to discover an individual's total range and frequency of target word use. The use of words expressing other negative emotions were coded as supplementary data (1) to investigate the overall emotive vocabulary size and (2) to pair up with the corresponding target words. Statistical analyses were performed after transforming the verbal data to numerical data.

Conceptualisation of the target word. The pilot study revealed that the participants expressed their feelings using the verb "to feel" in English and the noun suffix "-gam" in Korean paired with non-emotion words. Participants often used the verb "to feel" in non-emotive phrases such as "I'd feel responsible for it" in English. A similar pattern was observed in Korean such as *check-im-gam* [responsibility], implying the Korean suffix "-

gam" – is equivalent of the English phase "I feel," when used in an emotional narrative. Such expressions with non-emotion words were excluded in Study I but were considered in Study II, which explored the *contents* of emotional narratives and the intentions underlying them.

Each target word belonged to one of the three categories: shame, guilt, and embarrassment according to the operational definitions of these emotions in the previous section. Grammatical variations of the word with same root were counted as an identical vocabulary. For example, "shame", "ashamed", and "shameful" were not treated as three target words but as variations of "ashamed". Similarly, "embarrassment", "embarrassed", and "embarrassing" were also regarded as variations of "embarrassed". The target words discovered in the pilot study were all initially included, and any new words emerging were added after a discussion with the second coder. Other frequently appearing emotion words and disagreement between the two coders were discussed before elimination. For example, "panic", "nervous", and "anxious" were excluded from the target word list because they belong to other categories of emotion (i.e. anxiety), which exhibit the experience of other emotions, not shame.

3.8 Study II: Data Analysis for Research Question 2

Study II investigated what characterises shame, using both verbal and non-verbal data, comparing the results between the English and Korean conditions, and by applying two notions of self-concept – independent and interdependent self – to the results. The data from the AoSCN was analysed first because the results of the quantitative analysis using the data of the ToSCE is likely to shape how the researcher perceives the narrative data of the AoSCN, and also influence the decisions that need to be made at different stages of qualitative data analysis processes.

The psychological orientations and behavioural responses of shame and guilt were measured. The four main factors were (1) self, (2) behavioural reflection, (3) avoidance, and (4) solution. For RQ2.1, shame consisted of (1) self and (3) avoidance while guilt was made up by combining (2) behavioural reflection and (4) solution. RQ2.2 examined the relationship between these four factors. RQ2.3 compared how an introduction of new self-concept (interdependent self-concept) affects the relationships found when the independent self-concept was applied. The existing factors were modified in respect to the interdependent culture. When doing so, relational aspects were examined and then added to either existing factors, or as an experimental factor to the model. When comparing the models using the two

different notions of self-concept, the existing model (Model I) was referred to as using the independent self-concept in comparison to the interdependent self-concept in Model II.

How the four main factors, (1) self, (2) behavioural reflection, (3) avoidance, and (4) solution, were measured are explained by the measurement tools, starting with the ToSCE (Section 3.9.1) and then the AoSCN (Section 3.9.2). How the relational aspects were measured and applied to the factors is followed (Section 3.9.3). When reporting the data analysis, a series of hypothesis tests were carried out using an alpha level of .05 for all statistical tests. In summary, the three sub-questions of RQ2 were answered as a series of hypothesis tests based on the literature review, all of which focused on finding the best way to conceptualise shame.

3.8.1 Coding framework for the ToSCE. The ways the four main factors were measured were displayed in Table 3.6 with an example of the following scenario: you walked out of an exam thinking you did extremely well and then learned you did poorly.

Table 3.6
Items Measuring Shame and Guilt in the ToSCE

	Psychological Orientation	Behavioural Response
Shame	You'd think "I'm stupid." (Self)	You'd think about dropping the class. (Avoidance)
Guilt	You'd think "I should have studied harder." (Behaviour reflection)	You'd think "I should study harder next time." (Solution)

Using the 5-point Likert scale, when participants selected 'highly likely' for an item, it scored 5. Likewise, 'likely' corresponded to 4, 'maybe' to 3, 'unlikely' to 2, and 'highly unlikely' to 1. The score of the item in each scenario was summed up to make up the final score of an individual participant. The final scores of each factor were used to investigate the relationships of the four factors.

3.8.2 Coding framework for the AoSCN. The coding framework for the narrative data was developed to analyse the participants' shame and guilt experiences and to investigate where the participants' primary concerns lie and how their attentions lead to either avoidance or problem-solving tendency. The four main factors were the same as those used in the ToSCE: (1) self, (2) behavioural reflection, (3) avoidance, and (4) solution.

The unit of analysis was a participant's response to questions in each scenario: this varies from a single word to several sentences amongst participants, scenarios, and the language conditions. Positive feelings and attitudes were, again, excluded as they are not the focus of this research. All of the examples used in this chapter are from the participants' actual answers; the responses written in Korean were translated into English. The examples are shown with the participant ID starting with their current cultural context (UK or Korea) and the scenario title.

Self-focus. SELF was coded when one's attention is placed on the speaker him or herself. Below are common examples that scored a 1 on SELF:

Self1 I'm so screwed. (UK07, Exam)

Self2 Embarrassed. Indignant. Frustrated. (UK02, Lecture)

The expression of one's own feelings or thoughts in a full sentence (*Self1)* or listing words only (*Self2) were the two common examples.* For *Self2* up to three words and phrases were considered as a single incident instead of three and scored a 1 on SELF because, in reality, speakers of both languages casually use more than one word or phrase and occasionally up to three instances when describing their feelings. Each additional word and phrase beyond three added one more to the score.

Behavioural reflection. BEHAVIOUR REFLECTION (BR) was coded when the speaker evaluated his or her behaviour, showing that the attention was particularly on his or her own behaviour or task.

BR1 I should have paid more attention, I think. (KOR04, Exam)

BR2 It's not as rewarding as I imagined it to be. (KOR04, Volunteer)

BR1 is an example that shows the speaker's reflection on how he or she did in the exam. *BR2* is an example that shows the speaker's evaluation of the current volunteer work.

Avoidance tendency. AVOIDANCE was coded when participant talked about his or her desire to avoid facing the current situation (*Avoidance1*) or decision to give up the task (*Avoidance2*).

Avoidance1 I just wanna hide in a hole. (KOR05, Lecture)

Avoidance2 I don't want to do this course anymore. (KOR05, Exam)

Solution-seeking tendency. SOLUTION was coded when the narrative includes an intention to rectify the situation in the given context. When one has a clear idea of what to do, such a reaction is coded as *Solution1*, but when one is still searching for options that may serve as a solution, it is also coded (*Solution2)*.

Solution1 I'm afraid I can't take the bonus myself. (KOR04, Bonus)

Solution2 Should I quit or continue? (KOR07, Volunteer)

In some scenarios, it was difficult for the speaker to make up for it with an action, and a solution was sought through a conversation, especially when others were involved. Therefore, initiating a conversation looking for an appropriate action in the future such as "What shall I do?" was also coded *Solution2*. In some scenarios, for example, when your boss blames your co-worker for the mistake you made, apologising or attempting to tell the truth is also an appropriate way of amending the situation. Three special cases were coded as SOLUTION:

- You apologise to your boss or your co-worker or initiate a conversation to rectify the situation when you find out the co-worker is blamed for your error.
- You apologise for having been noisy or explain to other classmates when you get into trouble because you were talking in class.
- You initiate a conversation with your boss or you decide to share the bonus with your group members when only you received a bonus for a group's work.

3.8.3 Application of the interdependent self. To answer RQ2.3, changes were made to incorporate the interdependent self to the main factors in order to consider the effect of interdependent culture. The literature review suggests that individuals in interdependent cultures might pay more attention to other people (other-focus) and the relationships between the two (relationship-focus). Therefore, the relational aspect was added to SELF, BEHAVIOUR, and SOLUTION. It was coded when the speaker's attention was on the interaction between the speaker and other(s) or when the speaker's main concern could not be separated between the two parties. When the speaker' concern includes his and her relationship with someone else, it was additionally coded to (1) self-focus. The consideration of how the speaker's behaviour affected or might affect other individuals was added to (2) behavioural reflection. Verbal apologies that were excluded previously were now added to (4) solution. These new features were examined and adjusted before the actual data analysis. An experimental factor (5) other-focus was coded as a potential psychological orientation apart from self-focus and behavioural response.

Other-focus. OTHER is coded when the speaker's attention was drawn to someone other than the speaker him or herself. *Other1* is the example in which the speaker identifies a specific person, or his or her interlocuter, as the cause of trouble, while *Other2* represents when the participant's main concern is the negative view of non-specific others on someone

else than the speaker him or herself. When the speaker asks the interlocutor for his or her personal experience or opinion on the same task, it is also coded (*Other3)*.

Other1 You bother everyone in this room. (UK08, Snore)

Other2 I'm worried that other people can hate my friend. (KOR08, Snore)

Other3 How was it for you? (UK03, Exam)

3.9 Study III: Data Analysis for Research Question 3

Guided by the results of Studies I & II, Study III employed a scenario to focus on and explores the effect of the current cultural context and the length of the exposure to the English-speaking culture. The factors used in Study II were explored by focusing on the group difference based on participant's current culture and the level of exposure to the English-speaking culture answering RQ3.1. A series of group comparisons were conducted, and the tests of the two a priori hypotheses were conducted using Bonferroni adjusted alpha levels of .025 per test (.05/2). All statistically significant results are presented. Whenever conducting a group comparison, the normality and equality of variance of the dataset were tested first. The most appropriate statistical tests were carried out based on the dataset.

For RQ 3.2, using the data from ToSCE, the following steps were carried out to examine how either avoidance score (S2) or solution score (G2) is predicted by self-focus score (S1) and behaviour-focus score (G1). When choosing the best fit model, stepwise regression was used to maximise the power of prediction with a minimum number of predictor variables. This process was primarily accomplished by backward elimination, observing the statistical value of AIC (Akaike Information Criterion). After fitting the model, the overall model fit and hypothesis regarding a subset of regression parameters were tested using a likelihood ratio test (LRT). A likelihood ratio test comparing the full and reduced models was performed using Analysis of variance function with the additional option test of Chi-squire in the R packages. How well the chosen model fitted the data was diagnosed using R diagnostic plots and influence statistics. These diagnostics included the following four plots: 1. Residuals vs. fitted values; 2. Q-Q plots; 3. Scale Location plots; and 4. Cook's distance plots. The visual inspection of scatterplots was conducted using the plot function. Once the best fit model was found, the effects of the current and previous cultural exposure were considered.

For the prediction of the target word use (RQ3.3), after choosing a specific target word category to focus on, the following steps were carried out to examine whether the use of the selected target word category could be predicted by the following variables from ToSCE,

self-focus (S1), behaviour-focus(G1), avoidance (S2), solution (G2), and the following two variables measuring the cultural exposure: current culture, and the length of the exposure to the English-speaking culture.

3.10 Inter-Rater Reliability

3.10.1 Purpose and aim. The purpose of having an additional coder is to enhance external reliability and to overcome a shortcoming of the current study, that the researcher developed the coding framework and served as a coder. There is a risk that the reliability of the researcher's coding techniques cannot be monitored when a single researcher codes all the data. When the main researcher also develops the coding framework, it is possible that the coding framework is not descriptive and informative enough to be carried out by another researcher. Having a second coder, therefore, was necessary to increase external reliability, the extent to which a measure varies from one to another, and to check for any repeated errors or unconscious coding problems that the main researcher might not be cognisant of.

For these reasons, an assessment of inter-rater reliability (IRR), which refers to the degree to which different coders give consistent estimates of the same behaviour, was carried out to increase the validity of the coding framework and the reliability of the researcher's coding techniques. Inter-rater reliability tests were conducted for Studies I and II.

Regarding the validity of the coding framework, the second coder and the researcher looked at whether the framework was generated in a way that would work to analyse both English and Korean languages and how well the constructs were designed. Doing so required determining whether the constructs were mutually exclusive, and how clear the coding framework was to other researchers. These issues were discussed before, during, and after coding.

3.10.2 Study I: qualification of second coder and the process of IRR. The task of the second coder for Study I was to collect the target words and relative emotion words using the same techniques in the pilot study. Because the pilot study revealed that more shame expressions were found in Korean than English, the ideal second coder was a Korean-English bilingual speaker, with a preference for a coder with a strong Korean background. This study recruited a Korean resident in Cambridge who met this requirement.

The second coder was a young adult who moved to Cambridge a year ago. Her lack of experience in living in the English-speaking culture would not be a major difficulty for Study I. Rather, because the first coder has been living in the English-speaking countries during the past decade, she might understand the modern use of Korean words and expressions and new

trends amongst the current Korean university students that the first coder was unfamiliar with. Also, because the second coder is new to the English-speaking culture, she might interpret the use of English emotion words differently from the first coder but potentially similar to the participants who struggle with using English emotion words appropriately. The second coder might also be able to acknowledge the gap between the dictionary meaning that she was more familiar with and the actual use of target words in English.

The second coder was informed of the nature and purpose of the research as well as the coding framework. The first coder went through a case coding with the second coder until she became confident enough to carry on by herself. Two cases were coded independently, and confusions or discrepancies were identified and addressed. Afterwards, both coders sat down and coded other cases by independently submitting online forms. When doing so the Korean version was completed first and then the coders did the English version, spending approximately three hours for each language. After carrying out IRR and comparing the results, the target words in both languages were discussed. Doing so included agreeing on the list of the target words, discussing other frequently used negative emotion words, and possible ways of translating the target words between the two languages.

3.10.3 Study I: computation and the results of IRR. The intra-class correlation coefficient (ICC) was assessed using a two-way mixed agreement and an average-measure ICC (McGraw & Wong, 1996) to assess the degrees to which the two coders provided consistency in their ratings of the target words across eight cases in Korean and seven cases in English. Cohen's Kappa, which is more popular, was not used because it is more appropriate when the data are nominal, which was not the case in this study. For ordinal, interval, or ratio data, percentages of agreement between the raters were sometimes reported. However, the most problematic issue with percentages of agreement is that 'they do not correct for agreements that would be expected by chance and therefore overestimate the level of agreement' (Hallgren, 2012, p 4).

Using an *IRR* package in the statistical program R, the ICC was calculated. The Korean result is summarised in Table 3.7 and the English result is presented in Table 3.8.

Table 3.7

Results of ICC for Inter-rater Reliability Test for Korean Target Words

	Student 1	Student 2	Student 3	Student 4	Student 5	Student 6	Student 7	Student 8
IRR value	0.923	0.915	0.882	0.913	0.907	0.875	0.951	0.814
Number of items	249	249	249	249	249	249	249	249
95%-Confidence Interval	0.901 < ICC 0.940	0.891 < ICC 0.934	0.849 < ICC 0.908	0.888 < ICC 0.932	0.881 < ICC 0.928	0.839 < ICC 0.902	0.937 < ICC 0.962	0.761 < ICC 0.855

Table 3.8

Results of ICC for Inter-rater Reliability Test for English Target Words

	Student 1	Student 2	Student 3	Student 4	Student 5	Student 6	Student 7
IRR value	0.988	0.965	0.990	0.979	0.997	0.988	0.884
Number of items	343	343	343	343	343	343	343
95%-Confidence Interval	0.985 < ICC 0.990	0.957 < ICC 0.972	0.988 < ICC 0.992	0.974 < ICC 0.983	0.996 < ICC 0.998	0.985 < ICC 0.990	0.856 < ICC 0.906

The IRR value for the eight Korean cases ranged between 0.88 and 0.92, and the IRR value for the seven English cases ranged between 0.88 and 0.99. The resulting ICCs were in the excellent range using Cicchetti's (1994) commonly cited cutoffs for qualitative ratings of agreement based on ICC values, with ICC being excellent for values between .75 and 1.0. The results indicate that coders achieved a high degree of agreement and suggest that the target words in both languages are rated highly similarly across coders. Therefore, the high ICC values suggest that a minimal amount of measurement error was present. Ratings of target words, therefore, were deemed suitable for use in the hypothesis tests of Study I.

3.10.4 Study II: qualification of second coder and the process of IRR. The second coder's task in Study II involved English and Korean language skills, basic social sciences research skills including psychometrics, content analysis, and potential awareness of cultural biases acknowledged in a cross-cultural study. For these reasons, the ideal second coder was a Korean-English bilingual who studied psychology at the university level. A professor in

child psychology from Korea who was visiting Cambridge was recruited. She met all the requirements and had experiences of conducting cross-cultural research using similar methodologies.

The second coder was informed of the nature and purpose of the research as well as the coding framework. We went through a single case coding together, which helped her become familiar with the coding scheme. Afterwards, the coders sat together and coded a case by submitting an online form. When the coding of a single case was competed, results were compared and any disagreements were discussed. This process was repeated four times. Afterwards, the two coders discussed any potential issues that might affect the quality of research, which included effects that might be caused by distinctive linguistic features in the English and Korean languages as well as cultural meanings of some phrases.

3.10.5 Study II: computation and result of IRR. The assessment of the ICC was carried out identically to Study II using a two-way mixed agreement and an average-measure ICC to assess the degrees to which the two coders provided consistency in their ratings of shame and guilt across four cases. Using an *IRR* package in the statistical program R again, ICC was calculated, and the result is summarised in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9

Results of ICC for Inter-rater Reliability Test for Study II

	Student 1	Student 2	Student 3	Student 4
IRR value	0.989	0.866	0.998	0.999
Number of items	275	275	275	275
95% Confidence	0.986	0.830	0.997	0.999
Interval	<ICC	< ICC	< ICC	< ICC
	< 0.991	< 0.894	< 0.998	< 0.999

The IRR value for four cases ranged between 0.87 and 1.00. These results indicate that coders have a high degree of agreement and suggest that shame and guilt are rated highly similar across coders. Ratings of shame and guilt, therefore, were deemed suitable for use in the hypothesis tests of the present study.

CHAPTER 4. Study I

The results of Study I are presented in this chapter, addressing Research Question 1. The use of target words in both languages was investigated (RQ1.1) with two case studies (RQ1.2) followed by comparisons between the students in the UK and Korea according to their exposure level to the English-speaking culture (RQ1.3).

4. 1 Overview of the Target Word Use

Table 4.1 provides an overview of the target words in English and Korean employed by 41 participants, summarising how many times they used the target words (frequency) and how many different target words they employed (range). In total, target words appeared 165 times in English and 192 times in Korean while this difference was not statistically significant ($t(80) = - 0.90$, $p = .37$). In English, embarrassment words were the most frequently used (66%), followed by shame (18%) and guilt (16%) words. In Korean, both shame and embarrassment words were used much more often than guilt words (18%), with the shame and embarrassment words accounting for 47% and 40% respectively. A total of six English target words and 17 Korean target words were used by 41 participants. In English, four different words for shame were found, but a single word was observed to describe embarrassment and guilt. In comparison, a greater variety of words were observed in Korean, including eight shame words, five embarrassment words and four guilt words. The range of the Korean target words (m = 4.41, sd = 2.25) was significantly different from that of the English target words (m =3.46, sd = 1.92; $t(78) = - 2.06$, $p = .04$).

Table 4.1

Overview of Target Words

	English		Korean	
	Frequency (%)	Range	Frequency (%)	Range
Shame	30 (18.2%)	4	90 (46.9%)	8
Embarrassment	108 (65.5%)	1	77 (40.1%)	5
Guilt	27 (16.4%)	1	25 (13.0%)	4
Total	165 (100%)	6	192 (100%)	17

Across the three categories of the target words, trends between the range and frequency of each category seem to vary between the two language conditions. With shame

words, a wider range of shame words as well as a higher frequency of them were found in Korean than in English. Regarding embarrassment words, one single English word, embarrassed, appeared 108 times compromising 65% of the entire English target word use while four Korean guilt words appeared 25 times all together making up only 13% of the Korean target words. In other words, although the Korean language seems to offer more words compared to English, this does not necessarily lead to using target words more frequently in Korean than in English.

These observations require a further investigation of the frequency and range of the target words that each participant employed. First, the number of the participants who used each target word was explored in addition to the overall appearance of the word (see Table 4.2). Second, the participants' range of target words was observed. Third, how individuals employed target words in the two language conditions was compared. The two cases of those who use target words in a specific language much more often than the others were further scrutinised to help understand the target word use in relation to their emotional experiences (Section 4.3). Lastly, the influence of the current cultural context with regard to their exposure to the English-speaking culture is explored. (Section 4.4)

For the following sections in this chapter, Table 4.2 summarises the range and frequencies of the target words with the number of participants who employed these words in English and Korean. Korean words that are hard to translate into English have been given a short description in English based on definitional agreement between the researcher and the second rater. Note that, in Table 4.2, the words with no frequency are the ones that only appeared in the pilot study. These words could have been available for the participants in the main study even though they were not used. Since such an aspect may be useful for further analysis, they were presented here but were excluded from the total range of target word use. In other words, the reason for including these words in the table is to provide the maximum potential range of target words that might be available for the target population. By doing so, four Korean target words (three embarrassment and one shame words) were added, implying that the available range of the Korean target words might be even larger for the target papulation while it might not be the same case for the English target words.

Table 4.2

Comparison of Total Number of the Target Words Used in English and Korean

Emotion	English words	Frequency	Number of participants	Korean words	Frequency	Number of participants
Shame	(range = 4)	(total = 30)		(range = 8)	(total = 90)	
	ashamed	27	18	soo-chi	2	2
	mortifying	1	1	gul-yok (mortifying)	1	1
	humiliating	1	1	jjok-pal-lim (slang for humiliation)	11	8
				chang-pi (ashamed)	35	16
				min-mang (light shame)	13	8
				bbul-jum (light shame or shy)	1	1
	shy	1	1	boo-koo-reo-um (shy)	26	12
				jin-ddam(sweating)	0	0
				bbal-gae-jim (blushing)	1	1
Embarrassment	(range = 1)	(total =108)		(range = 5)	(total = 77)	
	embarrassed	108	39	dang-whang	68	27
				dang-hok	2	2
				whang-dang	5	2
				nan-cheo	0	0
				gon-ran	0	0
				anjul-boojul (motion of embarrassment)	1	1
				doo-gun doo-gun (heart-pounding sound)	0	0
				earl-ddul-ddul (positive embarrassment)	1	1
Guilt	(range = 1)	(total = 27)		(range = 4)	(total = 25)	
	guilty	27	17	joi-check-gam	15	12
				Ja-check	8	6
				ja-goi-gam	1	1
				check-mang	1	1

4.2 Target Words in English and Korean

A strong positive relationship was found between the frequency of a target word and the number of participants who employed the word in both languages ($r = .79$, $p < .001$ in English, $r = .97$, $p < .001$ in Korean). "Embarrassed" and "*dang-whang*" [embarrassed] were the most popular words in each language, used by 39 participants (95.1%) and 27 (65.8%) respectively, followed by "ashamed" and "*chang-pi*" [ashamed], which were used by 18 participants (43.9%) and 16 participants (39.0%) respectively. In other words, the possibility that the frequently appearing words were driven by one or two participant(s)' repeated use of them was ruled out and these words appear to be popular among all participants.

The least popular words were also taken into consideration as they contribute to the range of the target word. Five Korean target words and three English target words were used by a single participant only. When these least popular words are excluded as extreme cases, three English target words remain, which are "ashamed", "embarrassed" and "guilty": a single word for shame, embarrassment, and guilt in English. In contrast, 10 Korean target words are still observed: five shame words, three embarrassment words, and two guilt words. This result indicates that when these extreme cases are excluded from the analysis, the participants' overall range of target words become extremely narrow in English ($n = 3$) compared to that in Korean ($n = 10$).

4.2.1 Range of target words. The range of target words was six in English and 16 in Korean. In the shame category, four English target words were observed (from now on referred to as shame words): "ashamed", "mortifying", "humiliating", and "shy". Among them, being shy can be considered less intense than feeling ashamed whereas "mortifying" and "humiliating" may suggest a more intense experience of shame. 43.9% of the participants ($n = 18$) used shame words in English. 88.8% of them ($n = 16$) employed a single word, "ashamed", and there were only two participants who employed a shame word other than "ashamed": a participant used three shame words – "ashamed", "mortifying", and "humiliating" – and another participant employed two, "ashamed" and "shy". This result suggests that the English shame words used by the participants were not diverse.

The Korean data showed a rather different result. Eight Korean shame words were found, including "*soo-chi*", the closest translation for the English word "shame" and the name of the emotion concept for shame. However, although "ashamed" was the most frequently used shame word in English, "*soo-chi*" appeared only twice. Instead, "*chang-pi*", an alternative Korean shame word that can be also translated as "ashamed", was the most popular word, used by 16 participants, followed by another Korean shame word, "*boo-koo-*

reo-um" [feeling shy] used by 12 participants. Eight participants said they felt "*jjok-pal-lim*" [slang for feeling ashamed or humiliated] or "*minmang*" [light shame]. The strong shame word, "*gul-yok*" [mortifying], another light shame word, "*bbul-jum*" [light shame or shy], and a word describing a facial expression when ashamed, "*bbal-gae-jim"* [blushing], were used once.

Regarding the target words for embarrassment, in English, a single word was used, and 95.1% of the participants expressed their embarrassment by saying "I'm embarrassed". The direct Korean translation of "embarrassment" is "*dang-whang*", which was the most popular Korean embarrassment word, used by 27 participants (65.8%). However, two other Korean words that are also translated into "embarrassment" in English were also observed, "*dang-hok*" and "*whang-dang*", which were both used by two participants each. "*Anjul-boojul"* [motion of embarrassment] and "*Earl-ddul-ddul*" [positive embarrassment] appeared once.

In the category of guilt, 41.4% of participants (n = 17) used a guilt word in English. When doing so, only a single word, "guilty", was used. On the other hand, 29.2% of participants (n = 12) used Korean guilt words. "*Joi-check-gam*", the translated word for the English word "guilt", was most commonly used (n = 12), while "*ja-check*" was used by six participants. "*Ja-goi-gam*" and "*check-mang*" were each used once.

4.2.2 Frequency of target words. The average number of English target words used by a participant was 4.2 with the totals ranging from 0 to 10, while the average number of Korean target words used by a participant was 4.7, with the totals also ranging from 1 to 10. This difference between the two language conditions was not statistically significant ($t(40)$ = - 1.56, p = .13). To summarise, on average participants employed approximately four to five target words in each language while their total number of target words used in both languages together ranging from 1 to 20.

The total number of the negative emotion words a participant used, including target words, was counted and it was compared between the two language conditions. In total, participants' use of negative emotion words were not statistically different between the two languages ($t(77)$ = 0.38, p = .70). The average total number of English emotion words used by a participant was 15.6 with the totals ranging from 7 to 28 while the average total number of Korean emotion words used by a participant was 15.1 with the totals ranging from 2 to 30. A paired t-test was conducted to see whether the number of emotion words as well as the target words participants used differs between the two languages, but no significant difference was found regarding total emotion words ($t(40)$ = 0.83, p = .41) or the target words

($t(40) = -1.56$, $p = .13$). In other words, how often an individual used emotion words or the target words is not significantly different between the English and Korean conditions.

4.3 The Variation of Target Word Use among Participants

Individuals' target word employment varied between the language conditions and across participants. Figure 4.1 illustrates a wide individual difference. Some participants (for example, UK14 and UK18) employed many target words in both languages while some participants (KOR20 and UK13) rarely used the target words in either language. Some participants used more target words in Korean (KOR02 and UK02) while some participants used the target words more often in English (KOR12 and UK12).

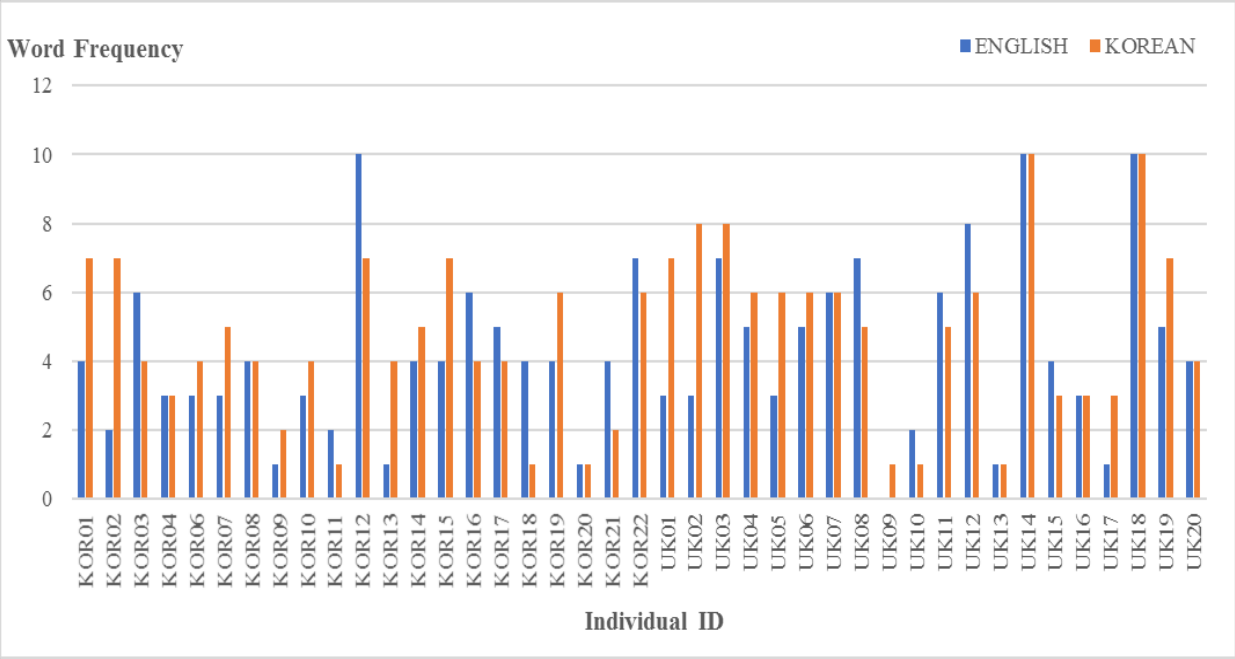

Figure 4.1. Individual participants' target word use in English and Korean

Individuals' total number of Korean target word use was deducted from that of English target word use to compare the individual differences in the use of the two languages. The difference of the target word use ranged from – 5, meaning that this individual used five more target words in Korean, to + 3, meaning that this individual employed three more target words in English. The mean score was – 0.49, with its standard deviation being 2.00 indicating participants on average used 0.5 words more in Korean than in English.

Those whose scores were further than two standard deviations (±4 words) from the mean score were considered as employing target words considerably more often in a

particular language. Two participants (UK02 and KOR02) used target words much more often in Korean while no participants did so in English. One of the two was a student in the UK and the other was in Korea, with their exposures to English-speaking countries being both high. A further investigation on these two participants was carried out comparing their use of the target words in Korean and English narratives.

4.3.1 Case No1: KOR02. KOR02 is a 31-year-old, female postgraduate student in Korea. She has been abroad for the last seven years, in the United States and Canada. After completing her undergraduate degree in Canada, she returned to Korea to pursue a doctoral degree. Her educational languages have been English and Korean but her current educational language is English. Both English and Korean are her dominant language now.

KOR02 used a single target word in English, ashamed, and used it only once while employed four Korean target words, "*whang-dang*" [embarrassed], "*dang-whang*" [embarrassed], "*boo-koo-reo-um*" [shy], and "*ja-goi-gam*" [guilty], all together six times (Appendix B-1).

When her unwanted photo appeared on her friend's Facebook, she said she felt 'ashamed' in English and "*boo-koo-reo-um*" in Korean. She requested, in both English and Korean, her friend of untag her in the photo. The fact that she used a shame word in both languages and that the content of the narrative is about withdrawal of her appearance online, together implies commonalities in both emotional experiences and reactions to the unexpected exposure to the public in the two language conditions, which meets the operational definition of shame. In other words, KOR02 seemed to have felt ashamed due to the unexpected exposure of herself in public, which resulted in the withdrawal of her identity online in both languages.

Examination of the other five occasions that she used target words in Korean only, however, suggests that KOR02's emotional experiences seem to differ depending on language. Her English narrative suggests she experienced emotions other than shame and no evidence of shame was found in her narratives. In the scenarios of *Lecture* and *Exam*, no evidence was found that KOR02 experienced shame or similar emotions in English. Following is an excerpt when she got into a trouble in lecture:

- (In English) Gosh, why does the prof only point at me?... I know it could happen but felt it's not fair.
- (In Korean) Shy [boo-koo-reo-um] but understandable

In Korean she said she would be slightly ashamed (*boo-koo-reo-um*) but it would be understandable. It is unclear what she meant by 'understandable,' but it implies her willingness to accept what happened. However, in English, she felt it was unfair. The comparison of her Korean and English narratives yields that her psychological response was different, and she could be rather angry than feeling ashamed in English.

When her exam result was worse than her expectation, she employed a target word, "*whang-dang"* in Korean only:

- (In English) I don't feel good. But I come to think there was nothing I could do except studying harder.
- (In Korean) Embarrassing [whang-dang]. What has happened? I ponder. I decide whether to ask for re-evaluation or accept it depending on the situation.

Her Korean narrative gives a clue that the unexpected result is the source of embarrassment, which leads her to think about how to react in Korean. However, in English, she accepts the result and no evidence of shame was found. Therefore, it is possible that her unidentified negative emotion in English could be something else than embarrassment.

The other three occasions that she used the embarrassment and guilt words only in Korean also confirm that her emotional experiences differ between the two languages with no evidence of shame in English. When her friend's date visits her Facebook page, her lengthy response in Korean includes a target word "*whang-dang*" [embarrassing] when "there is nothing to share or in common" between him and her and she thinks his behaviour is "crossing the line". She also worries her friend because her date does not seem nice and goes "I'd pay attention to my friend and do not hide what I underwent." In English, however, she does not exhibit a concern or discomfort, and rather implies of a positive feeling by saying "happy to see him again on my Facebook."

When she broke something at work when no one was around, in Korean, her first reaction was to evaluate the worth of the broken object. She said she would hide her mistake if it was an unimportant item, because people make such minor mistakes. However, in case it was an important item, she said she would be embarrassed by employing two Korean words, *dang-whang* [embarrassed] and *whang-dang* [embarrassed]. She would find a maintenance staff member to fix it. In English, her concern was also about the item she broke, however,

she preferred to talk about it to others "in order to lower the anxieties or panics". She was not only unafraid of revealing her mistake to her colleagues but also seemed to find them a source of comfort, which includes no evidence of the experience of shame.

KOR02 used a guilt word ("*ja-goi-gam*"), when she worked hard on behalf of others, with no return of favour. Her experience of guilt is less evident because she expresses her mixed feelings about her overwork with no reward and her feeling proud of herself doing good work for others though her work. The comparison of her Korean to English narratives provides a hint that her guilt in Korean might be related to self-blame, because in English she blames the organisation straightforwardly by saying "I would feel exploited by the host organization/person while I feel more connected to the people who would purely need my help." In English, she seemed more determined and adamant by saying "I am going to work here only until my contract ends. The host is exploiting volunteers." However, there is no evidence of considering quitting in Korean as she confesses "I really have no idea what to do" and says she feels like she is needed in the organisation. Her English answer provides no evidence of the guilt or hesitance shown in Korean.

4.3.2 Case No2: UK02. UK02 is a 22-year-old, male undergraduate student in the UK in his third year. He has been abroad for a decade while his family members reside in Korea. Before coming to his current university, he went to secondary school in Australia. His educational languages are English and Korean. English and Korean are both his dominant language now. UK02 used a single target word, "embarrassed", in English three times. In Korean, he employed four target words, "*Jjok-pal-lim*" [ashamed], "dang-whang" [embarrassed] and "boo-koo-ruom" [shy] and "*joi-check-gam*" [guilt], using them eight times in total (See Appendix B-2).

In the two scenarios, *Blame* and *Bonus*, UK02 employed the target word only in Korean. When his coworker was blamed for his mistake, he apologised in both languages. In Korean, his apologetic feeling seems to have resulted from feeling "*joi-check-gam*" [guilt] and "*boo-koo-reo-um*" [shy], as these were the first two words he wrote as his emotions in the context. In English, he said he was "indignant" and "frustrated." In other words, anger seemed to be his dominant feeling in English, which demonstrates that his emotional experience differed between the two language conditions, even though his behavioural reactions were the same.

A similar pattern was observed when a bonus was given to him and him only for a group project. His dominant feeling appears to be worrying in both languages, which led him to consult with his boss and inform his colleagues about the situation. However, in Korean,

he stated that he felt "*joi-check-gam*" [guilt] while, in English, he said he felt "pleased but a little bit worried". The cause of feeling concerned in both languages seems to differ while the triggering incident was the same, which indicates that how he perceived the incident differed between the two language conditions. In English, it was accompanied by a positive feeling of achievement. In Korean, while no such evidence was found, he believes that there was a mistake with a bonus, hence he decided to share the bonus with his team. In other words, the guilty feeling in Korean led him to focus on the bonus given and share it with his colleagues while the worrying feeling in English led him to discuss why others did not receive it.

When he employed "embarrassed" in English - *Lecture, Exam* and *Photo* scenarios - he used both embarrassment and shame words in Korean. His Korean target words ranged from a very strong shame word *"Jjok-pal-lim"* to an embarrassment word *"dang-whang"*, while this wide spectrum seems to be replaced by a single embarrassment word in English. The comparison of his English and Korean narratives when these target words were used may reveal how different Korean target words were expressed in English using "embarrassment" in English.

In the *Lecture* scenario, the strong Korean shame word "*Jjok-pal-lim*" was used with "*wha*" [angry] while the English embarrassment word appeared with two anger words, "indignant," an intense expression of anger, and "frustration". While he experienced shame and anger in both languages, the intensity of shame experience might be stronger in Korean, while the intensity of anger experience might be stronger in English. The way he talks, in English, about his experience after the lecture supports this view: "Man, it's so annoying I got into trouble in class because someone was talking to me." The content of his Korean narrative is nearly the same, but he finished his sentence by adding the strong shame word, "*Jjok-pal-lim*". This example implies that while UK02's experience per se may be similar in the two language conditions, his verbal reaction in Korean exhibits his experience of a strong shame while his reaction in English reveals his anger toward his friend, the one who is responsible for a shameful incident in front of others.

In the *photo* scenario, he said in Korean that he felt shy "*boo-koo-reo-um*" and "*wha*" [angry] because his friend uploaded an unpleasant photo of him without asking his permission. His use of an anger word "*wha*" with a less intense shame word "*boo-koo-reo-um*" in Korean indicates that his anger toward his friend was stronger than feeling shy, or that he became angry at his friend because his friend made him feel ashamed, which was similar in the *Lecture* scenario. In either case, anger seems to be the dominant emotion in the Korean context. The feeling of shyness when he saw the unexpected photo of him online triggered

his anger toward his friend. In English, however, no evidence of anger was found as he said he was "slightly embarrassed but not a big deal." Adding 'slightly' before expressing his embarrassment and also saying it is unimportant implies that his embarrassment is neither intense nor likely to develop into anger. The photo scenario shows that while his immediate emotional response was somewhat similar – shy in Korean and embarrassed in English – the ultimate emotional reaction was considerably different, as he expressed his anger toward his friend in Korean but not in English.

When his exam result was worse than he expected, UK02 was "frustrated, disappointed, embarrassed, and confused" in English. The use of multiple emotion words elaborates his negative feelings as he could have been 'disappointed' at the result of the exam or at himself, but was also 'confused' because he thought he did better than this. This cognitive dissonance seems to cause his experience of 'embarrassment'. This aspect seems to be summarised by accompanying 'frustration', which is often used when one faces a negative result unexpectedly. In Korean, such an embarrassment with a disappointing exam result seems to be expressed by saying "sad, embarrassed, *dang-whang* [embarrassed], and *boo-koo-reo-um* [shy]. He seemed to be *embarrassed* at the unexpectedly low exam results, which was also his reaction in English. Instead of showing disappointment or frustration, however, he felt sad as a reaction to the exam result. This sadness can be understood by his use of a light shame word "*boo-koo-reo-um*" because it is a particular shame word that is used when one is exposed to others. Such a saddened feeling in Korean is different from his frustration or confusion in English, because his Korean narrative implies that he accepted the results immediately in Korean.

UK02 demonstrates that, even when he used the target words in the same scenarios in both language conditions, when the use of such words is examined in a context, it exemplifies that a bilingual speaker's emotional experience differs and therefore different emotion words are used. In other words, UK02 suggests that bilinguals might employ multiple emotion words that are most appropriate in each language. Such results also imply that the target words between Korean and English do not seem to match neatly in the bilinguals' mind.

4.4. Effect of the Exposure to English-speaking Culture

The effects of the exposure to English-speaking culture on the participants were explored by two factors: their current cultural contexts (the UK or Korea) and the length of exposure to the English-speaking culture at the three levels (high, low, and no exposure).

4.4.1 Main effects of the exposure to English-speaking culture. A series of group comparisons between the UK-based and the Korea-based participants were performed. First, the group mean scores between the two groups were compared using *t*-tests on the following three items in English and Korean: the total number of the target words used, the total number of the emotion words used, and the range of the target words. No significant results were found in any of these comparisons, indicating no major group difference was found based on the students' current culture.

The main effect of the exposure to English-speaking culture was examined on the same three items and a group difference was found for the total number of the emotion words used only in English. A Kruskal-Wallis one way analysis of variance test revealed that the total number of English emotion words that participants used depended upon the exposure to English-speaking culture ($F(2) = 8.07$, $p = .02$). The Dunn test was performed and the result showed the total number of English emotion words used differed significantly between the high and low exposure groups only ($t = -2.52$, $p = .02$)[1]. The high exposure group (m = 17.1, sd = 5.86) employed significantly more English emotion words than the low exposure group (m = 11.0, sd = 1.87).

The main effect of the length of the cultural exposure, however, disappeared when the effect of the current location and the exposure level were considered together in the generalised linear regression analysis ($F(38) = 68.1$, $p = .12$). In other words, when both the current and previous cultural exposure were considered, the exposure effect was cancelled out.

4.4.2 Sub-group comparisons. Because 69.0 % of the high exposure group was UK-based (n = 20) and the low exposure group was composed of Korea-based only, the same analysis was performed on the Korea-based group and the high exposure group separately.

Korea-based group. The same analysis was performed on the Korea-based group only, confirming that the effect of the length of cultural exposure is the single significant factor that influences the Korea-based participants' use of English emotion word use. The total number of English emotion words that participants used depended upon their exposure to the English-speaking culture ($F(2) = 8.92$, $p = .01$). The high exposure group (m = 16.8, sd = 3.96) used emotion words in English more frequently than the low exposure group (m =

[1] The difference between the high and no exposure groups (m = 12.9, sd = 2.12) or between the low and no exposure groups was not statistically significant ($t = 0.84$, $p = .60$, $t = -1.73$, $p = .13$, respectively).

11.0, sd = 1.87) and no exposure group (m = 12.9, sd = 2.12). The Dunn test revealed that the high exposure group's total number of English emotion words was significantly different from that of the low exposure group only[2] (t = -2.86, p = .01). No other statistically significant results were found.

High exposure group. Group comparisons between the UK-based and Korea-based participants were performed among the high exposure group only. No statistically significant results were found.

4.4.3 Summary. The current and previous exposure to English-speaking culture does not influence the frequency or range of the target word use. However, the length of the exposure to English-speaking culture was observed as a positive influencing factor on the frequency of English emotion word employment while this effect disappeared when the participants' current culture is considered together. No group difference was found in their Korean narratives, suggesting that exposure to the English-speaking culture seems to only influence their English narratives, with no evidence of the deterioration of Korean emotional narratives.

[2] The difference between the high and no exposure groups was not statistically significant (t = - 1.92, p = .08).

CHAPTER 5. Study II

This chapter shows the results of Study II which addresses Research Question 2. Section 5.1 includes the results using the narrative data from the AoSCN (Study 2A) and Section 5.2 shows the results using the quantitative data from the ToSCE (Study 2B). Section 5.3 summarises findings regarding the shame patterns.

5.1. Results of Study 2A

Study 2A analysed the data from AoSCN answering all three sub questions of RQ2.

5.1.1 Answering RQ2.1: Do Korean-English bilingual students' shame and guilt differ between the two language contexts? Participants' shame scores ranged between 1 and 13 in English (M = 7.44, SD = 2.67), and between 2 and 18 in Korean (M = 9.54, SD = 3.07). While the mean of the Korean shame scores appeared to be slightly higher than the English one, this difference was not statistically significant ($t(40) = -0.39$, $p = .70$). Their guilt scores ranged between 4 and 26 in English (M = 9.76, SD = 4.57), and between 3 and 22 in Korean (M = 10.95, SD = 4.08). The results indicated a marginally higher score for the Korean guilt score over the English guilt score ($t(40) = - 1.98$, $p = .054$). The results do not reject the null hypothesis that bilinguals' shame and guilt expressed in their narratives are similar in the two languages.

A series of paired t-tests were performed to examine whether the scores of self-focus, behavioural-focus, avoidance tendency, and solution-seeking tendency differ between the two languages. The solution-seeking tendency scored statistically significantly higher in Korean (M = 9.44, SD = 3.75) than in English (M = 8.32, SD = 3.65, $t(40) = - 2.52$, $p = .02$). The marginally higher guilt score in Korea, therefore, seems to be influenced by this. No other significantly different results were found.

5.1.2 Are there positive relationships between self-focus and the avoidance tendency, and between behaviour-focus and the solution-seeking tendency in both languages? The correlations of the four elements that make up shame and guilt using the independent self-concept are presented in English and Korean in Table 5.1. None of the four elements in the both languages showed a statistically significant correlation, indicating that the hypothesised patterns of shame and guilt were not replicated.

Table 5.1

Inter-correlations for Elements of Guilt and Shame in English and Korean

	English					Korean			
Measure	1	2	3	4	Measure	1	2	3	4
1. Self	--				1. Self	--			
2. Behaviour	. 23	--			2. Behaviour	. 08	--		
3. Avoidance	**. 10**	. 00	--		3. Avoidance	**. 23**	.14	--	
4. Solution	. 09	**. 27**	. 02	--	4. Solution	. 23	**.26**	. 09	--

*$p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

The hypothesised relationships are coloured in blue.

The potential reasons for the absence of significant relationships between self-focus and the avoidance tendency in both languages was explored and the low frequency of avoidance tendency could be an influencing factor. In both languages, the median scores for the avoidance tendency were 0, ranging from 0 to 3 in English and 0 to 4 in Korean. Among the 41 participants, only eight participants mentioned avoidance in English ($M = 0.37$, $SD = 0.77$) and 13 participants mentioned it in Korean ($M = 0.44$, $SD = 0.81$), representing about 20% and 32% of the participants respectively. Among them, seven participants showed the avoidance tendency in both languages, while one participant mentioned avoidance only in English, and six participants showed avoidance only in Korean. These results could have resulted in difficulties of establishing a statistically significant relationship with the avoidance tendency[3].

5.1.3 Answering RQ 2.3: Do the patterns found from RQ 2.2 change when the interdependent self is applied instead of the independent self in the analysis?

Pre-testing new factors. To understand how additional aspects of self-concept may explain the avoidance or solution-seeking tendency, three experimental factors were tested: relationship-focus, verbal apology, and other-focus. Relationship-focus was positively related to the avoidance tendency in Korean only ($r = .38$, $p = .14$), suggesting a potential of finding the hypothesised shame pattern in Korean when the interdependent self-concept is applied. Verbal apology was positively related to solution-seeking tendency in both English ($r = .60$, $p < .001$), and Korean ($r = .40$, $p < .01$). Therefore, verbal apology was integrated into the solution-seeking tendency which legitimated combining these two factors. Other-focus was

[3] In contrast, participants talked about finding solutions much more frequently in both languages ($M = 8.32$, $SD = 3.65$ in English, and $M = 9.44$, $SD = 3.75$ in Korean).

positively related to verbal apology in English (r = .33, p = .03) and to relationship-focus (r = .38, p = .01) in Korean.

Based on this initial data analysis, relationship-focus was integrated into the interdependent self to distinguish from the independent self, and verbal apology was integrated into solution-seeking tendency. Other-focus was added as a new psychological orientation because, conceptually, it is a relevant factor to be considered in the interdependent culture, and functionally, it was correlated to a behavioural response that this analysis focuses on.

Results. The results support the null hypothesis that bilingual students' shame and guilt expressed in their narratives are not different in the two languages when the interdependent self was applied (t(40) = - 1.61, p = .12 for shame and t(40) = - 1.58, p = .12 for guilt). In the English condition, the hypothesised relationships were not found. Neither the relationship between self-focus and avoidance (r = .10, p = .52) nor correlation between the behaviour-focus and solution (r = .30, p = .06) was significant. In the Korean condition, both hypothesised shame and guilt patterns were found to be significant. Self-focus was positively related to the avoidance tendency (r = .39, p = .01). The positive relationship between behaviour-focus and the solution-seeking tendency was significant too (r = .31, p = .05). Table 5.2 summarises the results of the correlations of the modified variables.

Table 5.2
Inter-correlations for the Interdependent Self, Other, Avoidance and Solution in English and Korean

	English					Korean			
Measure	1	2	3	4	Measure	1	2	3	4
1. Self	--				1. Self	--			
2. Behaviour	.04	--			2. Behaviour	.13	--		
3. Avoidance	**.10**	0	--		3.Avoidance	**.39***	.13	--	
4. Solution	.25	**.30**	. 04	--	4. Solution	.31*	**.31***	.16	--

*p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001
The hypothesised relationships are coloured in blue.

Even though the hypothesised patterns were not found in English, the use of the interdependent self in the analysis enabled to discover a significant relationship between a psychological orientation (other-focus) and a behavioural tendency (solution-seeking

behaviour) in English that was not found when the independent self was used. In other words, other-focus was positively related to solution in English (r = .34, p = .03) while no other significant correlation was found in Korean.

Conclusion of Study 2A. The results were different when the two different notions of self were applied. Overall, the results suggest that the concept of the interdependent self could be more appropriate for analysing participants' shame and guilt expressed in their emotional narratives. To be more specific, how their psychological orientations and behavioural responses were related were noticeably different when different self-concepts were used. Figure 5.1 below accentuates the statistically significant relationships when independent self (Model I) and interdependent self (Model II) were applied to the analysis.

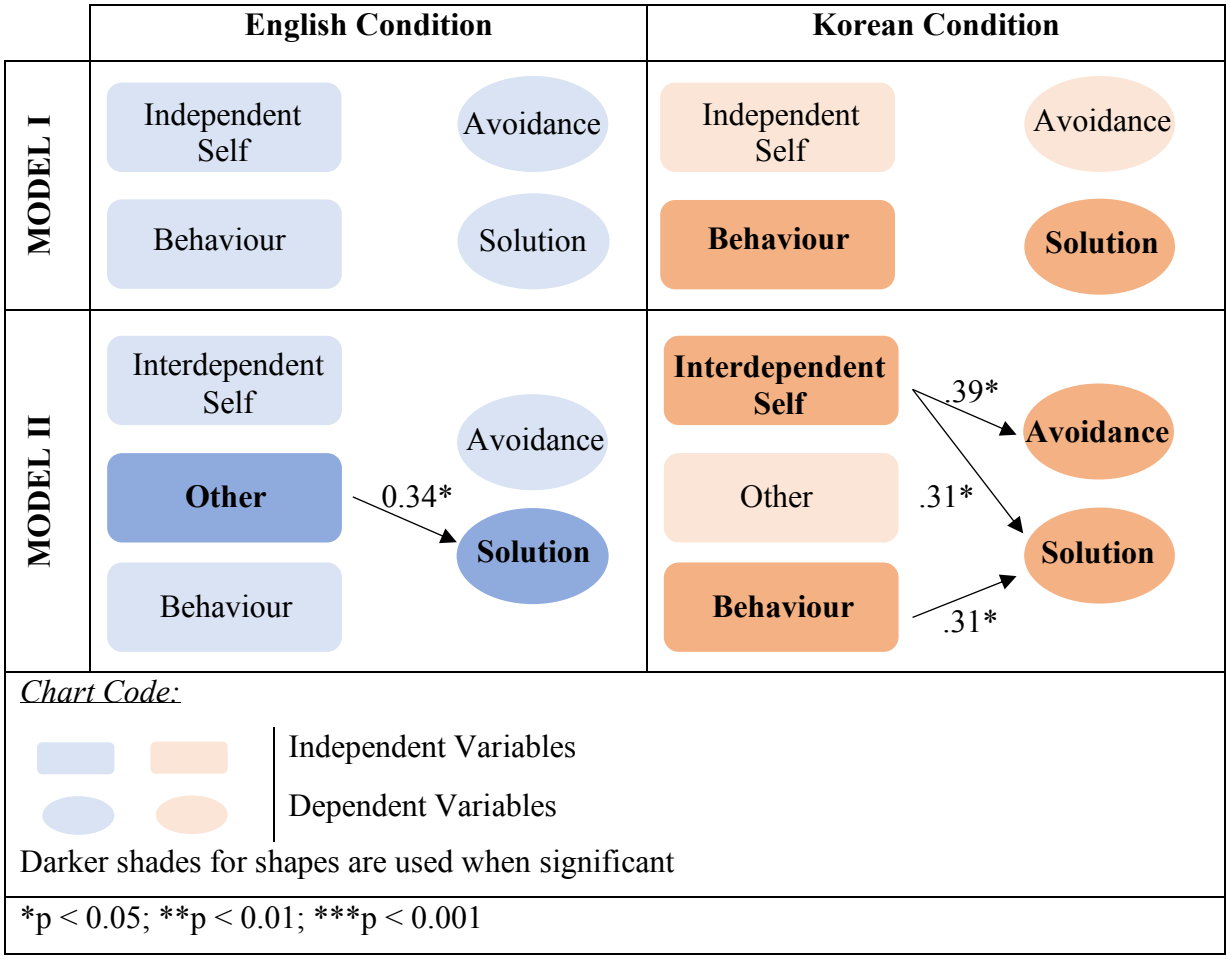

Figure 5.1 Comparison between using independent self-concept (Model I) and interdependent self-concept (Model II) in the analysis.

5.2. Results of Study 2B

Study 2B replicates the steps in Study 2A using the data from the ToSCE. Because the Emotion Test does not have items measuring interdependent self, Study 2B answers RQ2.1 and RQ2.2 only.

5.2.1 Answering RQ2.1: Do Korean-English bilingual students' shame and guilt differ between the two language contexts? The overall mean averages of the participants' shame scores were 5.7 in English and 5.6 in Korean out of 10, and the difference between the two means was not significant (t = 1.19, p = .24). The overall mean averages of their guilt scores were 7.5 in English and 7.7 in Korean out of 10, and the difference between the two means was also not significant (t = -1.31, p = .20). Together, the results support the null hypothesis that the participants' experience of shame and guilt does not differ between English and Korean. In other words, their overall shame and guilt scores did not seem to be influenced by the language in which they answered the questionnaire.

5.2.2 Answering RQ2.2: Are there positive relationships between self-focus and the avoidance tendency, and between behaviour-focus and the solution-seeking tendency in both languages? The relationships between the four factors showed different patterns between the two language conditions, and the expected patterns were found in the Korean condition only. Table 5.3 provides an overview of the correlations for the four factors in the two language conditions.

Table 5.3
Inter-correlations for Guilt and Shame scores in English and Korean

	English					Korean			
Measure	1	2	3	4	Measure	1	2	3	4
1. Self	--				1. Self	--			
2. Behaviour	.77***	--			2. Behaviour	.56***	--		
3. Avoidance	**.15**	.00	--		3. Avoidance	**.35***	.03	--	
4. Solution	.50***	**.56*****	- .25	--	4. Solution	.24	**.35***	- .05	--

*p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

The hypothesised relationships are coloured in blue.

In the Korean condition, the two hypothesised relationships were significant. Self-focus was positively related to the avoidance tendency (r = .35, p = .03), and behaviour-focus showed a positive correlation with the solution-seeking tendency (r = .35, p = .02). Such

results replicate Tangney's research implying that shame and guilt have different orientations, followed by different reactions. However, not all patterns were replicated in the English condition. The hypothesised guilt pattern was found to be significant ($r = .56$, $p < .001$) while the hypothesised shame pattern was not found ($r = .15$, $p = .36$). Instead, the more the participant was self-focused, the more he or she was likely to show the solution-seeking tendency ($r = .50$, $p < .001$). The positive correlations between self-focus and behaviour-focus in both languages are less of an issue because it implies that participants tend to pay attention to both their self-image and behaviour.

Conclusion of Study 2B. To summarise, the focus of participants' attention was important in the Korean context to determine the characteristics of shame in comparison to guilt because their behavioural reaction changed when they were self-focused or behaviour-focused. However, such a difference in psychological orientation had less impact on their behavioural reaction in English because participants showed the solution-seeking tendency regardless of the focus of their attention.

5.3 Summary of Shame Patterns

Table 5.4 summarises the findings on shame in the three analysis models in Study II. The first two rows explain the measurement tools and self-concepts that were used for the data analysis in each study, while the last two rows include unexpected findings in relation to shame.

Table 5.4

Summary of Shame Patterns

Measurement tool	AoSCN (2A)		ToSCE (2B)
Self-concept applied	Independent self	Interdependent self	Independent self
Shame score difference between English and Korean	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant
Shame pattern in English	Not found	Not found	Not found
Shame pattern in Korean	Not found	**Found**	**Found**
Unexpected positive relationships in English	-	other & solution	self & solution
Unexpected positive relationships in Korean	-	self & solution	-

None of the findings from Study II provides evidence to support the claim that the bilingual participants' shame scores differed under the English or the Korean conditions. In other words, the results using the two different data sources (AoSCN & ToSCE) and the two different concepts of self (independent and interdependent selves) reached the same conclusion; the bilingual participants' shame experiences were no different in English or Korean settings, showing that language had no significant effect on the overall shame scores. However, the mechanism of shame seemed to shift between the two languages spoken by the bilingual participants because the hypothesised shame pattern was replicated in Korean only (Study 2A-2 & Study 2B).

Table 5.5 compares shame and guilt patterns when the narrative data is analysed. The bilingual participants' guilt patterns were found in Korean only regardless of the self-concept types. The shame pattern seems to be more sensitive to how the self is defined than the guilt pattern. It is when the bilingual participants were tested in Korean and when the interdependent self-concept is used in the data analysis that both shame and guilt patterns were found in Korean.

Table 5.5

Comparison between Shame and Guilt Patterns

Measurement tool	AoSCN (2A)	
Self-concept applied	Independent self	Interdependent self
Shame pattern in English	Not found	Not found
Shame pattern in Korean	Not found	**Found**
Guilt pattern in English	Not found	Not found
Guilt pattern in Korean	Not found	**Found**

CHAPTER 6. Study III

Combining the results from Studies I and II, Study III focuses on understanding the dynamics of shame in a particular scenario and exploring the effect of exposure to English culture. By triangulating the different sources of data, Study III addresses the three sub-questions. Section 6.1 provides the rationale for the lecture scenario having been chosen as a case study. Section 6.2 examines the data in the selected scenario based on the participants' current (UK or Korea) and previous exposure to the English culture (exposure) addressing RQ 3.1. Section 6.3 explores the relationships between the psychological orientation and behavioural response of shame and guilt, which addresses RQ 3.2. Section 6.4 investigates whether the use of the most frequently used target word category can be explained by the variables used in Section 6.3 answering RQ 3.3. Further investigations arising from Sections 6.2 – 6.4 are reported in Sections 6.5- 6.6.

6.1 Justification of the Lecture Scenario as a Case Study

This section provides reasons for selecting the lecture scenario as a case study, drawing on the findings from Studies I and II and the methodological framework.

6.1.1 From Study I. As shown in Figure 6.1, the number of target words used by the participants reached its highest number in the lecture scenario in both language conditions (42 in English and 52 in Korean).

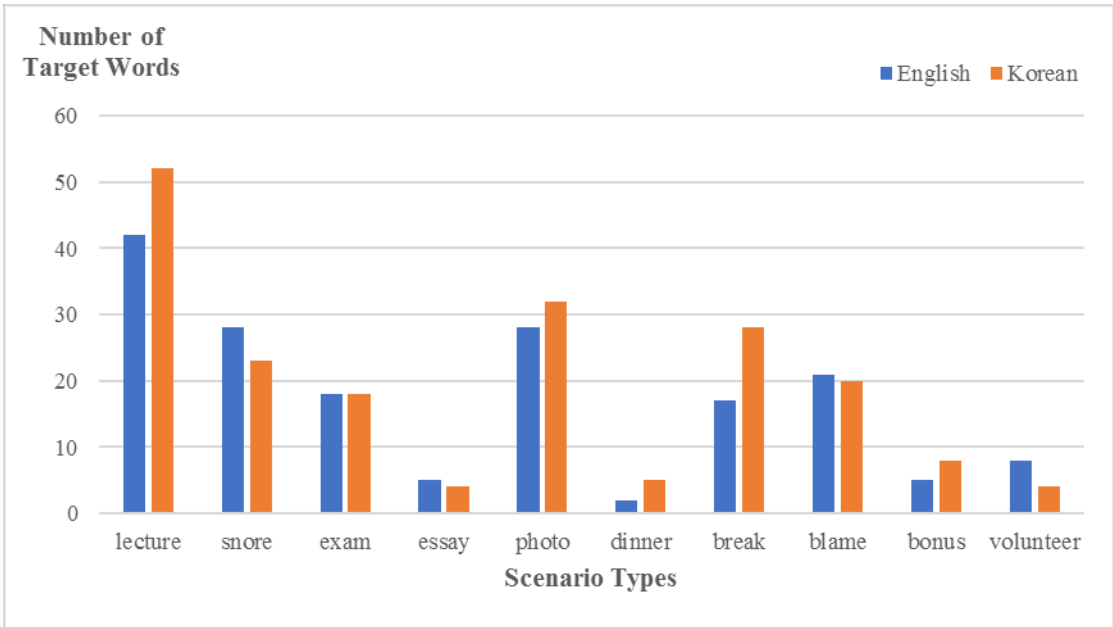

Figure 6.1. The total appearance of the target words by scenario

The lecture scenario is also where the greatest number of participants employed the target words in both English (83%) and Korean (86%). How many times a participant employed the target words in each scenario was summarised by the participants' current context (Table 6.1). Among the UK-based participants, 16 participants (80%) used the English target words, and the same number of participants used the Korean target words. Among the Korea-based participants, 18 participants used the English target words (85.7%), and 19 participants (90.5%) used the Korean target words. No significant group difference was found based on the current cultural contexts. Since at least 80% of the participants in each group used the target words in both languages, with no other scenario reaching a similarly high percentage, the results from Study I provide sound rationale for utilising the lecture scenario as the case study.

Table 6.1

Number of Participants Using the Target Words by Scenario

Scenario	UK-based Participants (*n*=20)		Korea-based Participants (*n*=21)	
	English	Korean	English	Korean
Lecture	16 (80%)	16 (80%)	18 (86%)	19 (90%)
Snore	12 (60%)	9 (45%)	12 (57%)	10 (48%)
Exam	6 (30%)	8 (40%)	3 (14%)	7 (33%)
Essay	2 (10%)	3 (15%)	2 (10%)	1 (5%)
Photo	13 (65%)	12 (60%)	12 (57%)	11 (52%)
Dinner	1 (5%)	2 (10%)	1 (5%)	2 (10%)
Break	8 (40%)	13 (65%)	6 (29%)	11 (52%)
Blame	8 (40%)	11 (55%)	7 (33%)	7 (35%)
Bonus	4 (20%)	6 (30%)	1 (5%)	2 (10%)
Volunteer	4 (20%)	2 (10%)	3 (14%)	2 (10%)

6.1.2 From Study II. The items measuring guilt and shame in the lecture scenario using ToSCE are summarised in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2
Items Measuring Guilt and Shame in the Lecture Scenario in ToSCE

	ToSCE
Scenario Description	You and your friend are talking in a big lecture class, and only you get into trouble.
Shame (self-focus)	You'd feel like everyone in the class is looking at you.
Shame (avoidance)	You'd be so embarrassed that you could not focus on the lecture.
Guilt (behaviour-focus)	You'd think: "I deserve to get into trouble."
Guilt (solution-seeking)	You 'd stop talking.

Table 6.3 summarises the correlations between the four factors in the lecture scenario using the data from the ToSCE. In both languages, the hypothesised patterns of shame and guilt were found. Positive relationships between self-focus and the avoidance tendency were found (r = .41, p = .007 in English, and r = .37, p = .02 in Korean). Behaviour-focus was also positively related to the solution-seeking tendency (r = .33, p = .04 in English, and r = .39, p = .01 in Korean). Self-focus, however, was also correlated with the solution-seeking tendency in both languages (r = .54, p < .001 in English, and r = .34, p = .03 in Korean), indicating the possibility of a complex pattern of shame. No significant correlation was found between self-focus and behaviour-focus, the two psychological orientations. Similarly, no significant correlation was found between the avoidance and solution-seeking tendencies, the two behavioural responses. Therefore, the data from the lecture scenario seemed suitable to perform a regression analysis using the two psychological orientations as independent variables and using the two behavioural responses as the dependent variables.

Table 6.3
Intercorrelations between Guilt and Shame components in the Lecture Scenario

	English					Korean			
Measure	1	2	3	4	Measure	1	2	3	4
1. Self	--				1. Self	--			
2. Behaviour	.24	--			2. Behaviour	.15	--		
3. Avoidance	.41**	.16	--		3. Avoidance	.37*	.03	--	
4. Solution	.54***	.33*	.13	--	4. Solution	.34*	.39*	09	--

*p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

6.1.3 Methodological issues. The lecture scenario was the first question the participants responded to, of the 10 scenarios in AoSCN. For this reason, their answers were likely to be less affected by how they answered the other scenarios, or by the potential effects of fatigue. Also, more data could be added to the analysis than for the other scenarios, if necessary, because there were survey respondents who answered this question but did not complete the entire questionnaire. If a marginal statistical significance is found, the chance of reaching statistical significance could be increased by adding more participants.

6.2 The Effect of Cultural Exposure

Using the narrative data from AoSCN, a significant group difference was found in the English condition only and this result depended on which self-concept was applied. When the concept of the interdependent self was applied, the UK-based group mean of the self-focus score (m = 1.9, sd = 1.12) was higher than that of the Korea-based group (m = 1.33, sd = 0.86), and this difference was significant ($t(28) = -2.35$, $p = .03$). However, such a difference was not observed when the concept of independent self was applied ($t(35) = -1.71$, $p = .10$).

The self-focus score also varied by the length of the exposure to the English-speaking culture when the interdependent self was applied ($F(2) = 7.33$, $p = .03$). The high exposure group (m = 1.79, sd = 0.86) scored higher on self-focus than the low exposure group (m = 1.4, sd = 0.55) and no exposure group (m = 1.0, sd = 0). The Dunn test revealed the difference between the high and no groups was significant ($t = -2.65$, $p = .01$). When the current and previous cultural exposures were considered together, however, the length of the cultural exposure was the only significant factor ($F = 3.80$, $p = .009$), and the effect of the current culture was no longer significant ($F = 0.68$, $p = .27$). Using the data from ToSCE, no significant difference was found.

6.3 Prediction of Behavioural Tendency

First, the normality and equality of variance of the dataset were tested. Shapiro-Wilk test and Bartlett's test revealed the dataset did not meet the assumptions for ANOVA. Therefore, the Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance test was performed instead of ANOVA. The t-test revealed no statistically significant group difference between the participants in the UK and Korea, and the Kruskal-Wallis test showed that no statistically significant difference was found between the participants with respect to the length of the cultural exposure. A generalised linear mixed model (GLMM) was used to predict the Korean avoidance tendency (Section 6.3.1), the English avoidance tendency (Section 6.3.2),

the Korean solution-seeking tendency (Section 6.3.3) and the English solution-seeking tendency (6.3.4). A linear regression was not performed because the underlying assumptions of multiple linear models were violated.

6.3.1 Korean avoidance tendency. Backward stepwise regression was conducted including the following variables, S1, G1 and the interactions between S1 and G1, to predict the avoidance tendency (S2) in Korean. The best fit model included all these three predictors with the AIC value of 119. The result of the likelihood ratio test showed evidence in favour of rejecting H0(S1): In Korean, the avoidance score does not depend on the self-focus scores (F = 6.72, p = .007). However, the result of the likelihood ratio test showed no evidence in favour of rejecting H0(G1): In Korean, the avoidance score does not depend on the behaviour-focus scores (F = 0.03, p = .86), while the interaction between the self-focus and behaviour-focus scores was significant (F = 6.81, p = .007). Visual inspection of scatterplots using R diagnostic plots and influence statistics did not show any unusual results. Note that the main effect of S1 on S2 remained when G1 was excluded from the model (F = 6.70, p = .01) but the AIC value increased to 122.6. This indicates that self-focus score alone can predict the Korean avoidance score while the model is improved when behavior-focus is included.

No evidence was found in support of the effect of the current cultural context (F= 0.61, p = .42) and the length of the cultural exposure (F= 0.10, p = .75) on the findings. Figure 6.2 visualises the prediction of the Korean avoidance tendency (S2) by the Korean self-focus score (S1). Overall, self-focus was positively related to the avoidance tendency in Korean.

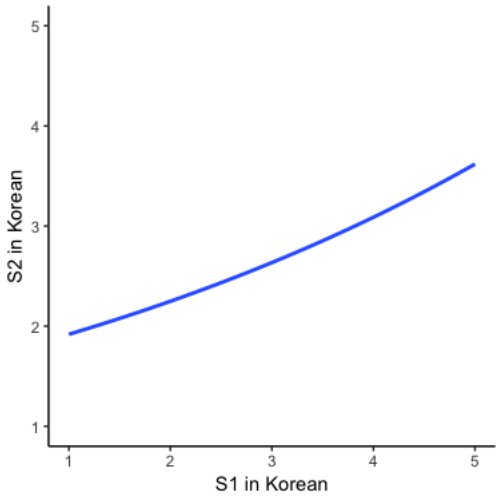

Figure 6.2 Korean shame pattern

6.3.2 English avoidance tendency. The same steps were conducted using the English data to predict the avoidance tendency (S2) in English. The best fit model included a single variable, S1, with the AIC value dropping from 129 to 127. The likelihood ratio test statistics showed evidence in favour of rejecting H0(S1): In English, the avoidance score does not depend on S1 scores ($F = 9.25$, $p = .005$). No unusual outcome was found through the assessment of R diagnostic plots.

No evidence was found in support of the current cultural context ($F = 0.84$, $p = .40$) or the length of the cultural exposure ($F= 1.05$, $p = .35$) affecting these findings. Figure 6.3 visualises the prediction of the English avoidance tendency (S2) by the English self-focus score (S1). Overall, self-focus was positively related to the avoidance tendency in English.

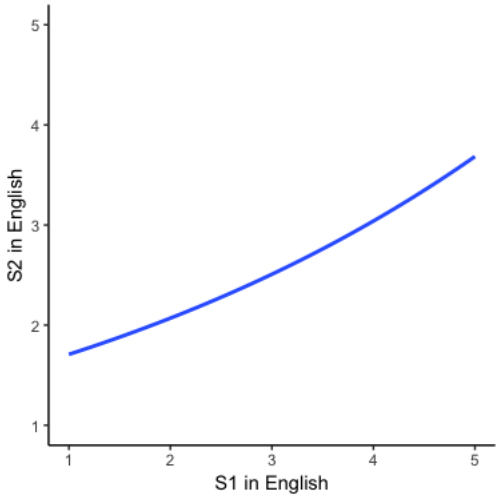

Figure 6.3 English shame pattern

6.3.3 Korean solution-seeking tendency. Backward stepwise regression was performed including S1, G1 and the interactions between S1 and G1 to predict the solution-seeking tendency (G2) in Korean. The best fit model included S1 and G1 with the AIC value being 55. The likelihood ratio test statistics showed evidence in favour of rejecting H0(S1): In Korean, the solution score does not depend on S1 scores ($F = 0.79$, $p = .046$), and also in favour of rejecting H0(G1): In Korean, the solution score does not depend on G1 scores ($F= 1.46$, $p = .007$). Using R diagnostic plots, the diagnostics found a pattern contrary to expectation, as the scatterplot between residuals and predicted values showed two parallel lines. The range of the Korean solution score was only between 4 and 5, and this may account for the unexpected pattern.

No evidence was found in support of current context ($F = 0.00$, $p = .98$) or cultural exposure ($F = 0.05$, $p = .61$) affecting these relationships. Figure 6.4 visualises the prediction of the Korean Solution-seeking tendency (G2) by the Korean behaviour-focus score (G1). Overall, self-focus and behaviour-focus were positively related to the solution-seeking tendency in Korean.

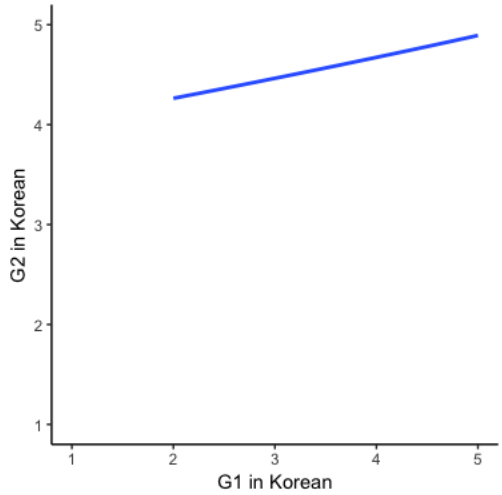

Figure 6.4 Korean guilt pattern

6.3.4 English solution-seeking tendency. The same steps were conducted to predict the solution-seeking tendency in English. The best fit model included all predictors, S1, G1 and the interaction between the two with the AIC value being 74.1. The likelihood ratio test statistics showed evidence in favour of rejecting H0(S1): In English, the solution score does not depend on S1 scores ($F = 5.04$, $p < .001$), and also in favour of rejecting H0(G1): In English, the solution score does not depend on G1 scores ($F = 2.40$, $p = .006$). The interaction between the two was also significant ($F = 3.09$, $p = .002$).

Using R diagnostic plots, the diagnostics revealed that two participants, KOR21 and UK16, were distant from other observations, potentially influencing the overall pattern. However, the exclusion of these two participants in the data analysis did not reveal a significant difference. Figure 6.5 visualises the prediction of the English Solution-seeking tendency (G2) by the English behaviour-focus score (G1). Overall, self-focus and behaviour-focus were positively related to the solution-seeking tendency in English.

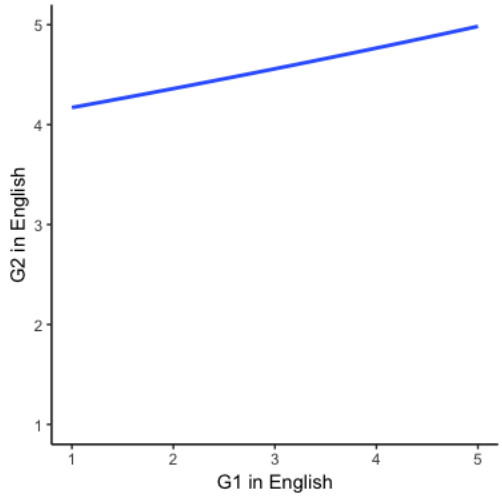

Figure 6.5 English guilt pattern

Evidence was found in support of the current context and the length of the cultural exposure affecting these relationships (F= 1.67, p = .01, F = 2.93, p < .001, respectively). However, when both variables were considered, the length of the cultural exposure was the only significant factor (F = 2.93, p < .001) and the effect of the current cultural context disappeared (F = 0.12, p = .50). The Tukey's test showed that the no exposure group was significantly different from the high exposure group (p = .04) but not from the low exposure group (p = .54).

6.3.5 Shame and guilt patterns by cultural exposure. A visual inspection of the shame and guilt patterns according to the cultural exposure was performed. Figure 6.6 shows the relationship between self-focus and the avoidance tendency by the length of cultural exposure in Korean and in English, side by side.

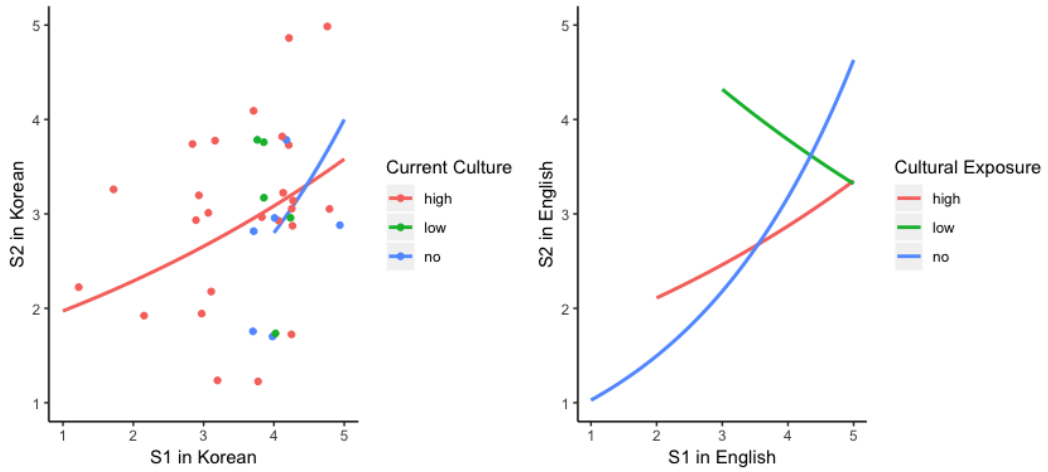

Figure 6.6 The effect of cultural exposure on Korean[4] and English shame patterns

While the high and no exposure groups showed a marked increase between S1 and S2 in both languages, the low exposure group showed no trend in Korean and a reversed trend in English. This unique pattern appeared more noteworthy when these results were compared to the guilt patterns. Figure 6.7 shows the relationships between behaviour-focus and the solution-seeking tendency by the three level of cultural exposure in Korean and in English, side by side. As shown in Figure 6.7, the high and no exposure groups again showed rather similar patterns between G1 and G2, in both language conditions. The low exposure group showed a distinctive pattern in Korean. In English, while the difference between the high and no exposure groups was significant, the low exposure group does not reveal any significant result. In summary, these plots helped to discover that the low exposure group showed a distinctive pattern from the high and no exposure groups.

[4] The line for the low exposure group is not shown because the individuals in the low exposure group all scored 4 on S1 with the range of scores on S2 being between 2 to 4 in Korean.

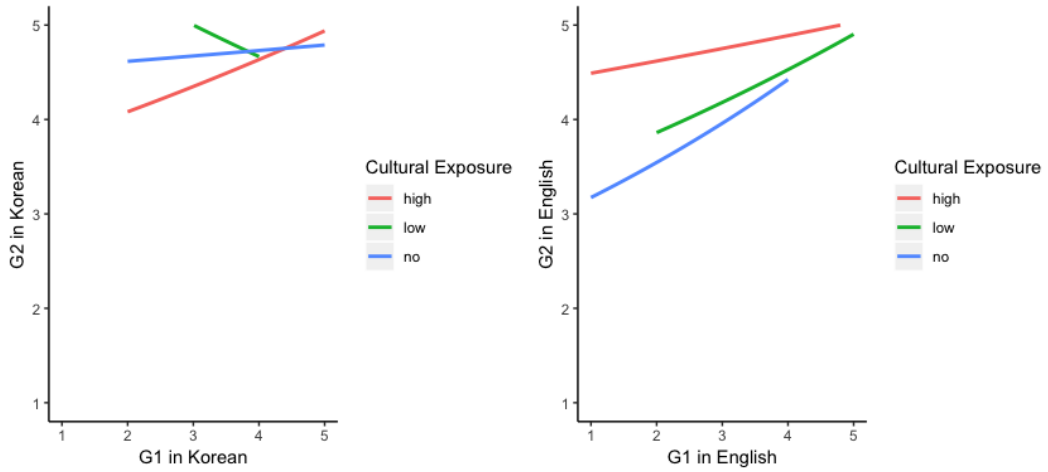

Figure 6.7 The effect of cultural exposure on Korean and English guilt patterns

6.4 Prediction of Target Word Use

The normality and equality of variance of the dataset were tested. The Shapiro-Wilk test and Bartlett's test revealed that the dataset did not meet the assumptions for ANOVA. Therefore, the Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance test was used instead. The Kruskal-Wallis test was performed to compare the three categories of the target words (shame, embarrassment and guilt) by the two variables measuring the influence of cultural exposure, and no cultural effect was found. Section 6.4.1 explains how the English embarrassment and Korean shame words were selected. In Section 6.4.2, using these selected words as dependent variables, GLMM was performed. In doing so, stepwise regression was used to maximise the power of prediction with minimum number of predictor variables.

6.4.1 Target word selection. Table 6.4 summarises how often target words were used in English and in Korean in the lecture scenario.

Table 6.4
Frequency of Target Words by Categories in Lecture Scenario

	Shame	Embarrassment	Guilt	Total
English	4	35	2	41
Korean	40	12	0	52

Overall, the participants used target words more often in Korean than in English ($t(40) = -2.57$, $p = .01$). However, they used embarrassment words more often in English than Korean ($t(40) = 6.05$, $p < .001$), while they used shame words significantly more often in Korean than English ($t(40) = -6.92$, $p < .001$). These trends were also observed in Study I.

Therefore, the shame word in Korean and the embarrassment word in English were selected for analysis.

A series of t-tests was conducted to examine whether the number of the three categories of the target words used by participants differs between the UK-based and Korea-based groups. A significant group difference was found for the English shame word[5]. The Korea-based group's mean of the frequency of the English shame word was significantly higher than the UK-based group's mean ($t(20) = 2.17$, $p = .04$). This is because no UK-based participants used an English shame word while four Korea-based participants used an English shame word. The same items were tested using the Kruskal-Wallis test measuring the influence of the length of the cultural exposure, and no statistically significant result was found.

6.4.2 Korean shame words. The best fit model to predict the use of Korean shame words included G2 only with the AIC value dropping from 115 to 101. However, the result of the likelihood ratio test showed no evidence in favour of rejecting H0: the use of Korean shame words does not depend on the Korean solution scores ($F = 2.34$, $p = .13$). No further statistical inference was performed.

6.4.3 English embarrassment words. The best fit model to predict the use of English embarrassment words included G2 only with the AIC value dropping from 107 to 88. However, the result of the likelihood ratio test showed no evidence in favour of rejecting H0: the use of English embarrassment words does not appear to depend on the English solution scores ($F = 0.37$, $p = .54$). No further statistical tests were performed in this regard.

6.5 Exploration of English Shame Words

Since no statistically significant result was found to help explain the use of the Korean shame and English embarrassment words, additional analyses were performed to predict the other target words.

6.5.1 Exploration of narratives with English shame words. When the English shame word was predicted, the best fit model included G2 only and the AIC value dropped from 35 to 26. The likelihood ratio test showed evidence in favour of rejecting H0: the use of English shame words does not depend on the English solution scores ($F = 4.22$, $p = .04$). No effect of current and previous cultural exposure was found. Figure 6.8 shows that the G2 score appeared to have a significant impact on the use of English shame words.

[5] Only a single shame word, "ashamed," was used in English.

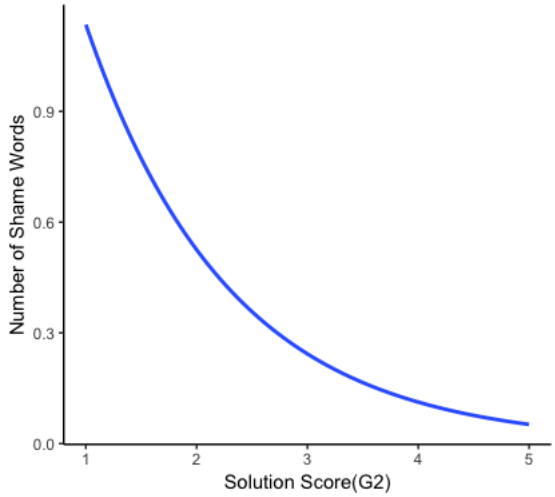

Figure 6.8 The prediction of the number of English shame words by the solution score

Using R diagnostic plots, the diagnostics revealed that the predicted values are not distributed normally based on a normal probability plot. This result seems to be affected by the low occurrence of the English shame words (n = 4) and the unusual distribution of G2 score. Except for KOR21 who rated 1 (very unlikely to stop talking] on G2, all the other 40 participants' G2 scores were either 4 (likely to stop talking] or 5 (very likely to stop talking]. The model was re-tested by excluding KOR21. The likelihood ratio test showed no evidence in favour of rejecting H0: the use of English shame words does not depend on G2 scores (F= 1.46, p = .23). The result appears to be heavily influenced by an outlier (KOR21).

The four participants' use of the English shame words was explored through narrative analysis by comparing their English and Korean narratives. Regarding the participant-related information, such as sex, age, school year and their exposure to the English-speaking culture, the only common criterion amongst the four participants was them being Korea-based participants (Table 6.5). They were all undergraduate students in Korea while their exposure to the English culture varied from no to high exposures.

Table 6.5

Information of Participants Who Used English Shame Words

ID	Sex	Age	University year	Current context	Length of exposure to English culture	Study abroad destination
KOR07	Female	26	4	Korea	3 years	Philippines
KOR12	Female	20	4	Korea	8 months	Canada
KOR21	Male	24	3	Korea	0 month	None
KOR22	Male	20	1	Korea	1 year	USA

How the four participants employed the English shame word is presented in comparison to their corresponding Korean narratives in Table 6.6. All participants identified their feelings as shame. They employed the English shame word to describe their feelings as being "ashamed" or "shameful." No one used a shame word in their conversation. In fact, KOR21 was the only one who expressed his feeling in conversation and when doing so he said he was "embarrassed" instead. KOR12 wanted to share this episode with a close friend but the other three decided not to discuss their feelings in English. The corresponding Korean words were diverse. Two participants (KOR07 and KOR21) used shame words, "*chang-pi*" and "*boo-koo-reo-um*" while the other two participants (KOR12 and KOR22) used an embarrassment word, "*dang-whang*." However, when expressing these feelings in conversation, KOR07 and KOR12 used the Korean shame words (*jjok-pal-lim*, and *chang-pi*), and they wanted to talk about it with a friend.

Table 6.6

Exploration of English Shame Words in the Lecture Scenario

ID	Answer Type	English	Korean
KOR07	Emotional Description	I feel ashamed very much.	I'd feel ashamed [*chang-pi*].
	Narrative in the scene	(To the lecturer) "I apologize about the situation before and I will never do that again."	"Professor, I apologise. I will be careful not to make this happen."
	Narrative later	No	(To a friend) "I was ashamed [*jjok-pal-lim*] because I got called by the professor during the lecture. TT"
KOR12	Emotional Description	Shameful	I'd be embarrassed [*dang-whang*]
	Narrative in the scene	"I feel embarrassed."	"Ashamed… [*chang-pi*]"
	Narrative later	(To a close friend) I will elaborate the situation.	(To a close friend) "I had a shameful [*chang-pi*] thing today."
KOR21	Emotional Description	Feels ashamed about it and feels that everyone is looking at me. I would be greatly embarrassed.	Feels ashamed [*boo-koo-reo-um*], and because others are looking at me, shame [*boo-koo-reo-um*] would become greater. But I pay attention to the lecture again.
	Narrative in the scene	No	"Don't talk to me during the class."
	Narrative later	No	No
KOR22	Description of feeling	Ashamed	Embarrassing [*dang-whang*] but admit.
	Narrative in the scene	No	No
	Narrative later	No	No

In short, when participants employed a shame word in English, they also did so in Korean. Their narratives in both languages show they felt ashamed. No other emotions were expressed. When they discussed it in Korean, they employed a shame word in their conversation, which was not observed in English.

6.5.2 Additional findings on shame narratives. A further investigation of the shame words in the Korean narratives (n = 40) was carried out as no shame word was used in the English conversational data. 57% of the Korean shame words appeared in their conversation. Eight participants (19.5%) employed a Korean shame word in their conversation.

Whether participants shared their lecture experiences with others in English and Korean was measured as either 1 or 0. 21 participants (51.2%) shared their shame experiences in Korean and 18 (43.9%) participants did so in English. The difference between these two was not significant ($t(40) = - 0.07$, $p = .18$). Among these 21 participants, eight participants employed a Korean shame word to describe their experiences to someone else while no participants used an English shame word in their conversation.

The effect of current cultural context was found on initiating a conversation. Regarding conversing in English, the mean score was higher in the UK-based group (m = 0.6) than the Korea-based group (m = 0.3), and this difference was significant ($t = - 2.08$, $p = .04$). Regarding conversing in Korean, the mean score was also higher in the UK-based group (m= 0.7) than the Korea-based group (m = 0.33), and this difference was significant ($t = - 2.46$, $p = .02$). These results show that the UK-based group shared their shame experiences with others more often than the Korea-based grouped in both languages.

The effect of the length of the cultural exposure was also found between the high and no exposure groups regarding whether they had a conversation in English (F (2) = 6.83, $p = .03$) and in Korean ($F(2) = 9.73$, $p = .007$). The high exposure group (m = 0.55 sd = 0.51) scored higher on conversing in English than the low exposure group (m = 0.4, sd = 0.55) and no exposure group (m = 0.0, sd = 0). The Dunn test revealed the difference between the high and no groups was significant ($t = - 2.61$, $p = .01$). The high exposure group (m = 0.65 sd = 0.48) also scored higher on conversing in Korean than the low exposure group (m = 0.4, sd = 0.55) and no exposure group (m = 0.0, sd = 0). The Dunn test revealed the difference between the high and no groups was significant ($t = - 3.07$, $p = .003$). When the current and previous cultural exposures were considered together, however, the length of the cultural exposure was the only significant factor in both language conditions ($F = 1.66$, $p = .006$ in English, $F = 2.47$, $p < .001$ in Korean) and the effect of the current culture was no longer significant ($F = 0.09$, $p = .51$ in English, $F = 0.09$, $p = .49$ in Korean).

CHAPTER 7 Discussion

This study explored Korean-English bilingual students' shame from multiple perspectives. This chapter presents the methodological, theoretical, and empirical issues of the three studies referring to how corresponding research questions revealed different aspects of Korean-English bilinguals' shame. The overall strengths and weaknesses of this study are addressed followed by recommendations for further research.

7.1 Discussion of Research Design

As an exploratory study using newly developed assessment tools, this research had a high risk of encountering unexpected methodological issues. In this section, the quality of the research design was evaluated according to two themes: the scenario-based questionnaire as an instrument of assessment, and the coding framework as an analysis technique.

7.1.1. Scenario-based questionnaire and order effect. When examining the credibility of the scenario-based questionnaire and effect of the scenario order, the following two questions may arise: Is the questionnaire design appropriate for facilitating participants' employment of target words? Could the order in which scenarios were presented affect how participants employed target words, thus undermining the quality of research data?

Although the potential order effect was considered when finalising the order of the scenarios, it is inevitable that providing a verbal response to 10 scenarios could have affected participants' answers, both qualitatively and quantitatively. It is possible that participants became bored or tired towards the end of the session, resulting in the use of fewer words when answering. Since the scenario order was fixed, if a consistent decrease in the use of target words is observed by the order of the scenarios, it would be plausible to expect a systematic effect of scenario order on the appearance of target words. If a systematic increase were observed, this could potentially suggest that the participants finished the survey with a strong negative emotion, which is ethically problematic. Instead of showing any of these patterns, the appearance of the total number of the target words fluctuated between the first and last scenario, with a tendency to drop when a positive scenario is presented. In other words, the target words were particularly seldom used in the following four scenarios in both languages: *Essay* (the 4th scenario), *Dinner* (the 6th scenario), *Bonus* (the 9th scenario), and *Volunteer* (the 10th scenario).

This result was not unexpected. As the 10 scenarios were developed based on psychometrics, scenarios inducing different levels of shame experiences were expected across scenarios, which could result in the fluctuation of the target word use. While the context of the other six scenarios are negative, in which feeling ashamed or embarrassed are natural, the four scenarios include clues of feeling positive self-conscious emotions, hence are considered positive contexts in which less or no experience of shame or other negative emotions would also be natural. For example, *Essay* and *Bonus* are the contexts in which one's hard work is recognised. It is rather surprising that some participants used the target words in these scenarios, indicating the experience of negative self-conscious emotions in such positive contexts. It is interesting that some participants employed the target words in such scenarios, while it is understandable that many other participants did not use the target words at all. Therefore, these four scenarios can be regarded as extreme contexts in which to experience shame while the remaining six scenarios seem to induce negative feelings with different magnitudes of shame. As such, the use of four to five target words per person in both languages seems reasonable, with a higher expectation of the employment of the target words in the six negative scenarios and a lower expectation of their use in the four positive scenarios.

In addition, since other emotion words expressing anger, disappointment, and sadness were used in both languages, one cannot rule out the possibility of the target emotions having been vocalised using these non-target words (i.e. one shows anger when ashamed). While the methodology adopted in this research was not designed for eliminating such a possibility, the two individual cases in Study I served as an attempt to investigate this possibility, which resulted in no evidence of using non-target words to express shame.

7.1.2 Coding framework. While using coding methods in the analysis of verbal data makes it possible to categorise and organise the raw data into a specific structure suitable for quantitative analysis, such methods are often criticised for shifting the focus of the study to the coded information and overlooking the original data (Edwards & Mercer, 1987, p. 11). The coded analysis is often presented as a *fait accompli* when reporting the study; thus, "the prior interpretative analysis that generated the codes from the data is commonly obscured or forgotten" (Daniels & Edwards, 2004, p. 69). The coding framework of self-focus, other-focus, and relationship-focus in Study II reflects how such criticisms were taken into account in the data analysis. The development of the coding scheme considered the differences in the structures of English and Korean which could lead to a methodological error. Since the questionnaire was set up to encourage participants to express their thoughts and feelings in a

given context, a participant would start his or her English narrative with 'I'd think' or 'I'd feel' in English while common expressions in Korean would be 'there would be thinking X' or 'Feeling X would occur', which do not necessarily include I-statements. If all of these English I-statements had been coded for SELF, there would have been noticeably more occurrences of SELF in English compared to Korean. If this were the case, a methodological error could have been introduced into the data analysis.

Self-focus & other-focus. KOR08, for example, said: "I'm worried that other people might hate my friend." KOR08 explained that her uneasiness came from the fear that others in the conference might have a strong dislike of her friend, which showed that her main concern was for her friend, not herself. For this reason, her expression of worry was not coded as SELF. If she simply said "I'm worried", this could have been inferred that she was overwhelmed by her own feeling (uneasiness) and could not, did not, or perhaps even did not need to identify this further. However, she clearly stated that she feared that her friend - not herself - might get into trouble, which needed to be distinguished from the coding SELF.

By creating a code such as OTHER, the understanding of one's psychological orientation in the given context no longer existed only between the speaker (SELF) and the given action (BEHAVIOURAL REFLECTION), but was extended to include how the recognition of others affects the ways one feels, thinks, and reacts, which could be critical when extending the concept of independent self to the concept of the interdependent self. The fact that the Korean and English data results differed when using the independent and inter-dependent selves in the analysis strongly indicates that the relationship between one's self and other individuals might be a crucial aspect in differentiating between Eastern and Western interpretations of self, which highlights the effects of different self-concepts on studying bilinguals' psychological and social behaviours. It would be also interesting to further analyse why other-focus was a significant independent factor in English only, and why it was positively related to the solution-seeking tendency.

One might suggest making the unit of analysis as short as a word so that both aspects of SELF and OTHER can be considered. KOR08 above, for example, could have been coded SELF as well as OTHER. for using "worried". This would again result in SELF being coded more often than any other factor due to poor research design. It would also yield a case in which the factors SELF and OTHER are less distinguishable, since they systematically co-occur in certain cases as in KOR08, thus indicating that the analysis framework is not parsimonious. Since the aim of this analysis was to distinguish between SELF and OTHER

and investigate how such differences were related to either avoidance or solution-seeking behaviour, a double-coding approach was unnecessary.

Relationship-focus. The consideration of relationship-focus did not come from the practical difficulty of differentiating self-focus and other-focus. Providing a detailed description of SELF and OTHER could have been a way to resolve such an issue. This section justifies the significance of coding RELATIONSHIP using concrete examples, which illustrates the potential misrepresentation of analysis when coding SELF and OTHER without an option of RELATIONSHIP. Below are examples from a scenario in which the professor singles a participant out for talking with his or her friend during a lecture.

A. Ah, I'm the only one who got caught. (UK03, Lecture) – coded as SELF
B. Why didn't you get in trouble? (UK02, Lecture) – coded as OTHER
C. I'd feel very, very embarrassed, a bit anxious about how I'd be seen to the lecturer, maybe get the feeling that other people might think of me as a poor student. (UK04, Lecture) – coded as RELATIONSHIP

Examples A and B are clear illustrations of the speaker's attention being either on him/herself or the interlocutor, with little confusion between the two. Example C, however, is debatable; it provides richer verbal data compared to the other two. In this case, an attempt to code Example C as either SELF or OTHER might be misleading due to the rigidity of the coding scheme. Coding it as both SELF and OTHER would not resolve this issue either, as this would only mean that the attention shifted between the self and the other, misplacing the essence of the original data. That is, if a participant said both A and B, and another participant said C, the difference between the two participants would not be acknowledged and they would be treated equally in the data analysis. Since this study is interested in the focus of the speaker's attention and how such attention leads either to an avoidant or rectifying tendency, it is crucial to identify such differences. Modification of the coding scheme without adding RELTIONSHIP would result in fragmenting the original data to fit into the coding scheme for the sake of a coding strategy. It would be unlikely to capture the kind of shared attention seen in Example C in the original data.

Example C requires a more careful coding scheme compared to Examples A and B, as the speaker's embarrassment and anxiety come from how others think of him and how he feels about their attention. The speaker's main concern is how he would be judged by others. For these reasons, such examples were coded as RELATIONSHIP rather than coding them as either SELF, OTHER, or both, which was used to conceptualise self-focus using the interdependent self-concept in Study II.

Summary. In short, the coding framework in Study II reflects the researcher's attempt to find the 'best fit for the research' in order not to lose the richness of verbal narratives by fragmenting or discarding them. That being said, the focus of the participant's attention was carefully coded and categorised by a precise analysis of shame narratives. Such an analysis required bilingual insight to create and follow this parsimonious coding scheme.

7.2 Discussion of Study I

Study I concerned the bilingual students' use of the target words in English and Korean, offering a comparison between the two languages and amongst participants, focusing on the frequency and range of the target words that the participants employed. It revealed that the range of the Korean target words was significantly larger than that of the English target words while the frequency of the target words between the two languages was similar. Neither the current cultural context nor the length of the exposure to the English-speaking culture were related to the use of target words.

The observation of the two participants who used target words much more often in Korean than in English led to an examination of whether these participants experienced shame in English but did not employ target words in English. If this were the case, the findings could have indicated a smaller range of available English words as a potential factor, which could have led to a further investigation on whether the English language offers a limited range of verbal expressions. Alternatively, the findings could have shown whether the participants' English proficiency is related to the small range of English target words. As these two participants were bicultural bilinguals whose command of English was good, if their range of target words to describe the same emotion differed, a further investigation into the commonalities and differences of target words between the two languages could have been carried out with the possibility of finding a culture-specific emotion, similar to the Polish-authentic emotion word, *tęsknota*.

Investigation of both participants, however, revealed that their emotional experiences change based on the language. Their experience of shame in the English condition was marginal, or they experienced an emotion other than shame, resulting in using noticeably less target words in English than in Korean. For these two cases, at least, they employed non-target words in English because they wanted to express feelings other than shame. Although the results cannot be generalised, the large range of Korean target words seem to be related to the fact that they have a need to employ target words in Korean because their experience of shame is more salient in the Korean condition than in the English condition.

Since these two participants spent their time in English-speaking countries for a prolonged period and their use of target words is distinguishable from the rest of the participants, one cannot rule out the potential that, for some other participants, their small range of English target words is related to one of the typical language errors mentioned in the literature review: overextension. Overextension may indicate that a person's lexicon contains incomplete entries for semantic features (Clark, 1973). For example, some participants could have predominantly used "embarrassed" because they do not know how to express their feelings more precisely. Such an excessive use of the English word 'embarrassed' could imply that they employ it beyond its usual meaning because of the lack of English vocabulary.

7.2.1 Discussion of the range of target words. On average, the participants' range of target words was larger in Korean than in English, and this result can be related to Korean being their L1. Does Study I demonstrate that the participants' shame-related vocabulary size is larger in their L1 than L2? Could the discovery of more diverse target words in Korean (L1) than English (L2) imply the possibility of a larger L1 target word storage than that of L2 among the sequential Korean-English bilingual students in this study? It is possible that Study I provides empirical evidence for this when Kroll and Stewart's model of cognition and language is applied.

The result of Study I might be related to the history of the bilinguals' language acquisition as their conceptualisation of shame has initially developed through gathering appropriate target words in Korean, which suggests that the connection between the storage of shame and Korean (L1) target words is stronger than the storage of shame and English (L2) target words. If L2-specific emotion words are found, this might be further evidence for strengthening the link between the storage of shame and English, also showing a potential change in how to conceptualise shame due to the dominant use of English. For example, if the English vocabulary is directly linked to the shame concept but is hard to explain or translate into Korean, this will imply a weak association between the two languages, suggesting an English emotion word is authentically linked to the shame conceptual store, which could be also affected by the dominant use of English.

Specifically, the two participants who used many more target words in Korean than in English could provide a similar case of the Polish-authentic emotion word *tęsknota*. If they had used an English word that did not have a potential translation equivalent, this would prove the result of the excess Korean words used. The English target words that they used, however, were not English-specific but basic emotion words that can be translated to many

languages including Korean. It could be the case that the conceptualisation of shame in Korean includes several categories, and an ability to organise abundant shame vocabulary items according to each category is required, while the boundaries of these categories in English are loosely similar to the case of jealousy/envy between Russian and English speakers (Stepanova Sachs & Coley, 2006). Indeed, in the process of L2 vocabulary learning, switching from two or more linguistic categories to one may be relatively easier than the other way round (Athanasopoulos, 2009); which was the case for the Korean–English bilinguals in this study. Other studies have also revealed that bilinguals whose dominance had shifted to L2 may demonstrate a blur of the categorical distinctions required by L1 (Athanasopoulos, Damjanovic, Krajciova, & Sasaki, 2011; Jarvis, 2003), which could be true for the two participants.

One way to explore such an aspect further, is to collect empirical data using a post-task interview with the participants in the study. If L2-specific shame words are found among the Korean–English bilingual students, it will enable identification of the nature of the link between L2 and the conceptual store. Regarding translatability between the two languages, since it is assumed that translation from L2 to L1 is easier if the translator is less fluent in L2 (Kroll & Stewart, 1994), participants may show great difficulty in translating a certain English emotion word that they used during the post-task interview sessions. If their cognition and emotions are more strongly attached to English than Korean and hence rely heavily on their L2-related knowledge, they may be faced with a challenge to translate an English word into Korean. Such an observation may suggest that their link between L2 and concept storage is becoming stronger, showing the effect of L2 on the conceptualisation of shame.

This study, however, does not provide convincing evidence to claim that the Korean language provides a wider range of shame vocabulary than the English language. Since all participants were sequential bilinguals for whom English is their later-learned language, one cannot rule out that other English target words can be found by other English speakers. In addition to collecting data from other English users, further investigation on the characteristics of the Korean target words can help determine the necessity and function of having diverse words to express shame as the diversity of shame expressions can be authentic to the Korean language.

7.2.2 Discussion on the characteristics of Korean target words. The results of Study I call for a further research on the characteristics of the Korean target words found. Although it successfully provides a list of words based on the empirical data, the long list of

Korean target words is unsatisfactory for English speakers as those words are not self-explanatory, and the rather short list of English target words with no equivalent Korean words is disappointing for Korean speakers as these words are so frequently used. As English target words are translatable not only to Korean but other languages while translating Korean target words to English is more difficult, it is sensible to investigate the possibility of Korean-specific shame words. The exploration of the characteristics of each Korean target word in relation to how it functions in a conversation can be followed based on the findings of Study I . An example can be seen in the two motion-expressing target words, *Bbul-jum* [light shame] and *Earl-ddul-ddul* [positive embarrassment].

While English shame words on the list assume the experience of negative emotions, *Bbul-jum* is a counterexample that a shame word can be used in both positive and negative contexts. For example, when people are to deliver a presentation at a conference or even receive an award, they might feel, and even occasionally say, they are *bbul-jum* to stand in public. Covering one's face or mouth with his or her hands or being unable to see the audience directly can also be perceived as a gesture of *bbul-jum*. The experience and expression of *bbul-jum* is often seen as natural to the public, and the speaker's verbal expression of shame in this manner is likely to elicit encouragement from the audience to help the speaker overcome the experience of shame.

Earl-ddul-ddul can be used in the same context, which refers to the physiological state of embarrassment but is likely to be used when an embarrassed person wants to address that his or her shyness is due to a positive surprise. Whereas *bbul-jum* implies the unexpected or even unwanted feeling of self-exposure even when it is for a good purpose, *earl-ddul-ddul* implies the positive experience of embarrassment often paired with the feeling of pride or achievement. Therefore, if a speaker starts his or her conversation using *earl-ddul-ddul*, the speaker is likely to talk about thanks and pride, while initiating a conversation using *bbul-jum* may express how humble or even unworthy the speaker thinks of himself or herself.

These examples can be summarised as being context-dependent, with an intention of a different use in an interpersonal context. The context-dependency of the Korean target words implies that: (1) the context of experiencing shame is not necessarily negative nor the verbal expression of it, but (2) the Korean language offers a multitude of words to describe such a difference, which supports that (3) shame as an emotion concept in Korean culture is pervasive. This interpretation is supported by Li et al. (2004)'s research on the Chinese shame vocabulary items discussed in the literature review. This, in turn, might lead to the proposition that shame culture in the Korean context enables diversification and development

of shame vocabulary, which leads to a discussion of conceptual differences in shame concept alike to the verbal expressions of shame in the corresponding culture.

7.3 Discussion of Study II

One of the major findings of Study II was that participants' shame scores were no different in English or Korean. Differences were found, however, when analysing the dynamics of the psychological and behavioural components of shame. Another major finding was that the types of self-concepts and the language condition changed such dynamics, which was achieved through the carefully developed coding framework. Two questions arise from these findings. First, how can the shame pattern which is found only in Korean and not in English be interpreted? Second, when analysing the shame narratives, the findings are dependent on the self-concept: what can be inferred from this?

7.3.1 Korean-English bilinguals' shame. The successful replication of the shame pattern in the participants' L1 suggests that humans might naturally develop a shame mechanism for their attention to themselves, leading to avoidance of the situation that made them feel ashamed in the first place. Failure for it to be replicated when tested in the participants' L2 suggests interference of L2 on mental processing[6], which weakens the connection between the two. When the participants were tested in their L2, self-focus did not correlate with the avoidance tendency, but it did with the solution-seeking tendency, which suggests that they did not adhere to the natural shame pattern. It can thus be inferred that in their L2 the participants were able to monitor themselves and correct their behaviour. Costa et al. (2014) found that when individuals make a moral decision in a foreign language, they make significantly more utilitarian choices, revealing the change in their cognitive process. Costa et al. (2014) argue that this result should not be understated as a mere foreign language effect, but instead emphasise the potential effect of the psychological distance that a foreign language (FL) creates, which results in a reduction in emotional resonance in a non-native language. Despite the difference between the FL in their studies and L2 in this study, since the participants in this study are sequential bilinguals who began to use English later on in their lives, it is a plausible explanation that the participants showed a greater psychological

[6] Fauconnier (1997) explains this process as mental spaces being built up as discourse unfolds, which is 'a function of the language expressions that come in, the state of the cognitive construction when the language expression arises, and the context of the discourse; this includes social framing, pragmatic conditions such as relevance, and real-world events perceived by the participants (p 36).'

distance in their L2 than in their L1. Consequently, they used their mental space to change their natural reaction to shame experiences.

In the analysis of the narrative data, the hypothesised shame pattern was only found when the interdependent self-concept was applied. If this hypothesised shame pattern is natural and thus universal, this result points out that the interdependent self-concept is more appropriate than the independent self-concept when analysing the Korean-English bilinguals' narrative. The literature review on self-concept in Chapter 2 legitimated the application of the interdependent self-concept in the Korean narratives, and the congruent result of Study II confirmed it. However, it cannot be ruled out that the bilingual participants develop different self-concepts between the two language conditions and the application of the independent self-concept into the English narratives could work for some participants. As Studies I and III found the effect of the length of exposure to the English-speaking culture, the self-concept in English between those with a high level of exposure and those with no exposure might be different, while such effect could be mediated by their current culture.

7.3.2 Understanding shame in comparison to guilt. Commonalities and distinctiveness were found in the participants' guilt patterns. The most salient similarity with the shame patterns was that the overall difference in the guilt scores between English and Korean was not statistically significant, regardless of the assessment tool (AoSCN & ToSCE). While the understanding of shame was enriched by including guilt in this study, it also generates questions: Did the bilinguals feel more ashamed in Korean and guiltier in English? Did the participants' self-concept also affect guilt patterns as it did for shame patterns?

The cross-cultural studies in the literature review and the results of the pilot study showed that the participants in this study might feel more ashamed in Korean than in English, or guiltier in English than in Korean. Study II does not support such a hypothesis. The results for the shame scores did not adhere to expectations. A higher shame score in Korean was anticipated based on the pilot study, but this expected result was not yielded. In addition, the Korean guilt score was marginally higher than the English guilt score ($p = .05$). If this result is regarded as statistically significant, it becomes counter-evident that the bilinguals in this study felt guiltier in Korean than in English, which could overturn the hypothesised effect of both language and culture. A higher guilt score in Korean would be an unexpected result, because guilt is thought to be more associated with an independent culture like that of the UK than Korea. These results highlight that studies of bilingual speakers do not neatly parallel cross-cultural studies conducted by comparing two monolingual groups.

Contrary to shame patterns, which showed shifts between the two concepts of self, guilt patterns were not found in either conditions. In addition, behaviour focus was not related to avoidance tendency, which showed a positive relationship with self-focus. These findings imply that guilt is a behaviour-centred emotion, which is less affected by the self-concept. However, it is in question whether the solution-seeking tendency is a distinctive feature of guilt. When the interdependent self is applied, other-focus was positively correlated with the solution-seeking tendency in the English narratives, while self-focus was positively correlated with the solution-seeking tendency in the Korean narratives.

In Korean, the consideration of others in relation to the speaker himself or herself (relationship-focus) was a key factor that led to a positive relationship between self-focus and the solution-seeking tendency. In English, however, the participants seemed to distinguish themselves from others and placing their attention on other individuals was a crucial factor leading to the solution-seeking tendency. These results indicate that one's relationship with others might function differently in the two languages. It might be because the Korean-English bilingual participants understand other individual(s) in relation to themselves in Korean culture, and this becomes a key factor in modifying their behaviour. When speaking in English, however, such a keen relationship is lost and other individuals function as a crucial, separate factor in rectifying their behaviours, calling for further investigation on the importance of the cultural relevance of self-concept in the studies of bilinguals' emotions.

7.4 Discussion of Study III

Triangulating the data from both ToSCE and AoSCN in the lecture scenario, Study III aimed to understand both the verbal and non-verbal aspect of shame in a particular scenario with the consideration of the effect of cultural exposure, all of which were deemed worthy of investigation based on the findings of Studies I and II.

7.4.1 Discussion of the hypothesised shame and guilt patterns. The similarity of the use of the target words between the two language conditions in Study I can be interpreted as the scenarios in the two languages having generated similar conditions as to how participants holistically experience shame and guilt in the lecture scenario. This opposes Study II which showed that the shame and guilt patterns differ across the language conditions. Since such commonalities and differences can vary across scenarios, Study III focused on a concrete example. In Study III, the relationships amongst the features measuring shame and guilt in the *Lecture* scenario showed similar patterns in the two languages, both upholding the hypothesised shame and guilt patterns. However, the best model for predicting

the behavioural tendencies differed according to the language conditions. While the avoidance tendency was predicted by self-focus in both languages, in Korean it was better predicted when the interaction between self-focus and behaviour-focus was considered. Regarding the solution-seeking tendency, while behaviour-focus predicted the solution-seeking tendency in both languages, the best fit model also included self-focus in both language conditions.

If the items measuring self-focus and the avoidance tendency had not been separate but had been combined as measuring shame, the hidden effect of behaviour-focus on the avoidance tendency in Korean would not have been revealed. Similarly, if the positive relationship between behaviour-focus and solution-seeking tendency had not been questioned, the positive relationship between self-focus and the solution-seeking tendency in both languages would not have been discovered. These results could not have been achieved if the hypothesised shame and guilt patterns were taken for granted.

In this way, Study III does not reject the shame and guilt patterns hypothesised by Tangney, but problematises the notion that the hypothesised patterns best explain the Korean-English bilinguals' shame and guilt. The positive relationship between self-focus and solution-seeking tendency in both languages reveals that the bilingual participants' self-focus does not always lead to the avoidance tendency but can also lead to the solution-seeking tendency. This brings into question the applicability of Tangney (Tangney & Dearing, 2002)'s conceptualisation of shame and guilt especially to the Korean-English bilingual participants because the positive behavioural outcome of shame could be the product of Confucianism, a characteristic of an interdependent culture, or the interplay between the two.

While such unexpected correlations are hard to interpret, regression analysis offered one way to explain the unexpected correlations between the guilt and shame components in the lecture scenario (see Table 6.2), especially with respect to self-focus being positively correlated with both avoidance and solution-seeking tendencies in both languages. The regression analysis revealed that, in English, S1 is a single predictor of S2 while S1 and G1 together predict G2. In simpler words, in the *Lecture* scenario, the difficulty of concentrating on the lecture due to shame (S2) in English was explained by the participants' own awareness of self-exposure (S1) but not necessarily by their acknowledgement of their wrong-doing (G1). However, to best understand when participants stop talking (G2), it is both their acknowledgement of their wrong-doing (G1) and their awareness of self-exposure (S1) that need to be considered. Since self-focus alone predicts the avoidance tendency, while together with behaviour focus it predicts the solution-seeking tendency, it can be suggested that, in

English, if an individual's attention is predominantly on themselves, they may need to increase their effort in shifting their attention to their behaviour in order to generate desirable behaviours. However, such a distinctive pattern was not found in the Korean conditions, making it hard to generalise this to both language conditions.

In several ways, these results undermine the applicability of Tangney's shame and guilt concepts. First, the one-to-one pairing between the psychological orientation and behavioural response no longer distinguishes shame from guilt. The new patterns found amongst the four variables in the *Lecture* scenario more convincingly support the claim from Study II that the hypothesised shame and guilt patterns cannot always be assumed but needs to be scrutinised. What needs to be addressed is its generalisability: whether this pattern can be also found in other scenarios. Replicating Study III in other scenarios will enable discussion of the contexts under which self-focus becomes a resource for constructive reaction.

7.4.2 Application of the shame pattern. Although feeling ashamed (self-focus) and stopping talking (the solution-seeking tendency) were positively correlated, this result does not demonstrate that public shaming is educational. The solution-seeking tendency in Study III, stopping talking, is likely to be most expected reaction when students are ashamed for talking in a lecture in both English and Korean cultures. Students in both cultures are expected to adhere to this social norm. Not adhering to it is such an unconventional reaction that it will be considered rude and unacceptable, legitimating others' condemnation of the ashamed student in Chinese culture (Li et al., 2004). Indeed, the acknowledgement of self-exposure alone was the single factor that distracted from the lecture while the acknowledgement of the task importance was a stronger factor on producing the expected performance from the lecturer: a request that the student stop.

The illustration of the shame pattern by the cultural exposure level (see Figures 6.6 and 6.7) proposes the uniqueness of the low exposure level group in this study. This group showed a distinctive pattern in both languages, which is worth looking at in relation to their educational history and context: they are the students in Korea-based universities with a short-term study abroad experience. It is normally not assumed that such a short-term exposure would change their behavioural habits, but if so, it is assumed that they are more likely to follow the patterns of the high exposure group instead of showing a distinctive pattern. The low exposure group's distinctive shame pattern becomes obvious when one imagines how the students with different exposure levels react in the same lecture room spoken in English. As the students feel more shame, those who never lived abroad or who

lived at least a year away show an increase in the avoidance tendency as expected, but the students with a short-term cultural exposure show a decrease in the avoidance tendency.

First, when participants are all extremely self-conscious (when S1 = 5), no group difference will be observed as they are all likely to suffer from concentrating on the lecture (S2 = 3), considering that the avoidance tendency (S2) in the *Lecture* scenario was not being able to paying attention to the lecture. However, when they were just slightly self-conscious (when S1 = 3 or less), it is interesting that the difference of behavioural outcome between the low exposure and the rest groups became wide and the low exposure group became even more likely to refrain. Even a slight amount of self-exposure may impede them from following the lecture.

This result can be understood that the threshold of losing concentration due to self-exposure is higher among the low exposure group illustrating that they are highly self-conscious. Such a vulnerable aspect deserves further attention because these students' high level of self-consciousness might negatively influence their academic performance. Also, this finding suggests that the students with the low exposure risk process the same event mentally differently from other students in the Korean culture. Since the high and no exposure groups' shame patterns are rather alike, it suggests the low exposure group's unique shame pattern in the *Lecture* scenario might be relevant with how they re-adopt Korean culture as returnees; this again suggests that additional attention should be paid to this group.

7.4.3 Target word prediction. The low occurrence of the target word by choosing a single scenario in Study III cannot be ruled out as a major factor contributing to failure to predict the use of the target word. These findings can perhaps be explained by the findings of Scherer and Wallbott (1994), who found that the likelihood of an individual who feels ashamed or guilty tending to verbally express it is only approximately 50%, while those who are angry are more verbally expressive (75%). They also revealed that when people express shame and guilt, their emotional narrative tends to be briefer than those who feel anger. Previous studies have also noted that words describing shame, guilt or both in many languages and cultures are emotion-evoking words and their direct usage is uncommon. English speakers, on one hand, may use the words: shrinking, small or worthless to describe their experience of shame (Tangney, 1995). On the other hand, Greek-English bilinguals may translate their experience of guilt in English as feeling bad (Panayiotou, 2006). The absence of such words from target word lists could be one factor affecting the failure of target word prediction. Such findings help to explain the weak association between shame pattern and the use of target words.

Alternatively, these results can be evidence to question whether the target word use corresponds to the inner experience of shame: the pervasive use of shame words in Korean may not reflect participants feeling shame more often in Korean. Rather, it is possible that the use of Korean target words reflects how such an experience is frequently conversed and shared with other individuals in Korean culture. For example, eight participants (19.5%) used shame words directly to express their feelings with others in Korean, while no participants employed shame words in their English conversation. This difference between the English and Korean narratives indicates the direct use of shame words in a conversation might be more common or acceptable among the speakers of Korean than among the speakers of English, which in turn shows a possibility of a different function of shame words in a conversation between the two language conditions.

Also, the eight participants who employed shame words in the Korean narratives only might have other non-target English vocabularies to express their feelings in English, which might be more natural within English-speaking culture than using the English shame words directly. KOR12 saying "embarrassed" in her conversation is an example. Two other possibilities, however, cannot be ruled out. First, some participants might be too ashamed to talk about it and English being their L2 may further prevent them from initiating a conversation due to language anxiety. Since talking about shameful experiences directly employing a variety of shame words is common in Korean, those with a lack of confidence in speaking in their L2 as well as those with a lack of L2 vocabularies are less likely to initiate a conversation to express their emotions, which was not possible to analyse in this study.

The cumulative experience of vulnerability of expressing such an unsolved negative emotion in the new academic context may develop into a more serious emotional problem, including depression, social anxiety, and adjustment issues in higher education. Combined with the two cases shown in Study I, some participants' shame experience might develop into other emotions in English, for example, anger toward others in the case of participant UK02. Such an aspect of the Korean-English bilingual students' patterns requires further studies particularly with respect to students who find it hard to deal with their shameful experiences in English, which is their current dominant language that they might need to develop good coping skills.

With respect to language-related culture, the effect of the exposure to the English-speaking culture on the likelihood of initiating a conversation in the *Lecture* scenario reveals that those with the high exposure are significantly more likely to start a conversation in both language conditions than those with no exposure. This suggests acquiring a habit of sharing

shame experiences in both languages by the cultural exposure. This hypothesis, however, requires additional supporting evidence: it could be the outcome of becoming bilingual, the so called bilingual advantage, or the product of the English culture if a trend exists that the speakers of English in general find it easier to share their emotional experiences than the speakers of Korean.

7.5 Limitations of the Study

This section offers a retrospective, critical reflection on issues that could have been considered in this study which, had they been taken into account, might have improved its quality.

7.5.1 Assessment tool. The 10 scenarios included both negative and positive contexts in which the level of shame inducement varies. In the data analysis of this study, data from each scenario were treated equally with no weight given to any particular scenario. A different result might be found if the positive contexts were excluded or treated differently.

The scenarios of ToSCE were used for collecting shame-related narratives in AoSCN. Doing so enabled the collection of both non-verbal and verbal aspects of shame in the same scenarios, which made it possible to triangulate the data and conduct Study III. The use of ToSCE can be defended as it has psychometric validity (as other psychological tests do) and it was modified from Tangney's TOSCA. However, concerns remain as to whether the scenario-based test was the most appropriate. The validation of AoSCN was carried out only through the pilot study, which revealed that participants used a good amount of target words. However, the main study failed to reveal a relationship between the use of target words and the experiences of shame. While the AoSCN successfully collected the target words in both languages, other elements of shame narratives might have been missed due to the structure of the AoSCN.

7.5.2 Mixed methods. The mismatch between the results from using different assessments in this study might raise the question whether a mixed method approach was appropriate in practice, although such a research design was suitable from a theoretical perspective. According to Teddlie & Tashakkori (2006; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010), a mixed method approach is appropriate when quantitative and qualitative studies of the same phenomenon produce different results. Indeed, the data analysis in Study I produced valuable findings about the participants' shame narratives that cannot be obtained from quantitative studies, while Study II alone also revealed statistically significant results about bilinguals' behavioural aspects of shame. Therefore, the failure to find consistent results by integrating

the two methods in Study III might suggest that the two different types of data analysis revealed different aspects of shame, exhibiting the complexity of studies on bilingual emotions. These results also demonstrate the difficulties of explaining unexpected results when a mixed method is used, especially when the topic has not been widely studied, because it is hard to support inferences made from the findings with regards to other studies.

7.5.3 Participant recruitment and generalisability. One of the major weaknesses of this study is the number of the participants, which threatens generalisability of the findings. To be able to claim the generalisability of the findings, it is important to have a sample large enough to carry out a statistical analysis with high statistical power. For example, a G-power analysis helps estimate the sample size for a one-way ANOVA test. To meet the standard of psychological studies, at least 128 participants are required in total (power = 0.80, p = .05) while having 196 participants would eliminate further chances of sampling errors (power = 0.95, p = .05). Since this study focused on collecting rich, multi-faceted data from the limited number of participants who volunteered, the application of its findings to a wider population requires the replication of this research. This is particularly true regarding the results of group comparisons. The use of snowballing sampling to recruit participants resulted in a sample imbalance, making it hard to control participant-related factors including age, sex, number of years exposed to the English-speaking culture, and any specific characteristics of current educational contexts.

This study regarded the UK context as representing the English-speaking culture, excluding other English-speaking countries. While the Korean language is predominantly used among Koreans in South Korea only, the English language is not. This study used the British culture and the English-speaking culture interchangeably, while the British culture does not necessarily represent the entire English-speaking community. For example, American English might be significantly different from British English in terms of how shame words are used, while the Korea-based participants might find the American culture more accessible than the British culture. Further research might need to recruit US-based participants and compare its results with those for UK-based and Korea-based participants.

A different categorisation of Korean-English bilinguals might generate different results. This study used two criteria – previous and current exposure to the English-speaking culture – and hypothesised that there might be a trend amongst these groups. However, this study did not reveal a clear trend in a spectrum with regards to the length of the exposure nor did it differentiate the effect of the current culture. This failure could be due to the small sample size again, but when the onset age of the participants' education in English and length

of period they were exposed to the language are considered as continuous variables, different results might be obtained.

7.6 Conclusion

The three studies could have addressed the research questions from an entirely different perspective if shame were not explored in relation to embarrassment and guilt. Studies I and II were mostly successful in addressing their research questions and revealed unique aspects of the Korean-English bilingual students' shame and its verbal expressions. Without the inclusion of embarrassment and guilt, the findings of Study I could have led to a misinterpretation of the data through partial understanding of the frequency and range of shame vocabulary. Study II revealed that the bilinguals' shame pattern changed according to the language condition and the concept of self. Such changes seem to be relevant to the solution-seeking tendency, which is believed to be a distinguishing feature of guilt.

Such intriguing findings from Studies I and II offered a rationale for conducting Study III. While Study III failed to provide statistically significant findings regarding a relationship between the behavioural pattern and the verbal expression of shame, it offered a new perspective from which to investigate the bilinguals' shame, a perspective that could not be achieved with ToSCE or AoSCN alone. As a case study, Study III enhanced the understanding of how students with different levels of exposure to the English-speaking culture might react differently to their emotions, which made it possible to apply this issue to a particular educational setting.

CHAPTER 8 Conclusion

In this chapter, the conclusion of each of the three studies is provided along with a brief summary of its main findings. Reflections on the study as well as how this study may contribute to both the relevant field of research and the current educational context in Korea are discussed, followed by recommendations for further research.

8.1 Conclusion of Study I

Study I explored the Korean-English bilingual students' use of particular emotion words. Comparisons were made between the two language conditions and between participants depending on their current cultural contexts and previous exposure to the English-speaking culture. The comparison of the uses of target words in the two language conditions can be summarised as follows: although the overall number of the target words used in English and Korean was similar, further investigation revealed that a wider range of target words were used in Korean than in English. Regarding the group comparisons on target word use, no significant difference was found between those in the UK and in Korea or according to the length of exposure to the English-speaking culture.

If this study had focused on shame words only, this study could have concluded that the abundant use of Korean shame words reflects the wide range of terms for shame in Korean. However, the same participants showed the opposite pattern in their use of embarrassment words, employing just a single English word – embarrassed – 108 times. Therefore, having fewer options for English shame words *per se* does not suffice the participants' less frequent use of the English shame words, because such logic contradicts the same participants' use of English embarrassment words. The two individual cases suggested an alternative hypothesis – that the bilingual participants' emotional experience might differ between the two language conditions. However, the further analysis on the employment of shame words in a conversation suggests that further qualitative research on the usage of each Korean target word may shed light on understanding the wide range of Korean shame vocabularies.

8.2 Conclusion of Study II

Study II was an attempt to explore the psychological and behavioural characteristics of shame by applying Tangney's shame and guilt patterns to two different types of data sources in two languages. Study II contributed an overview of how to assess the Korean-

English bilinguals' shame, adopting Tangney's definition of shame. This revealed that it is when the participants' Korean data are analysed using the interdependent self-concept, that the results are likely to replicate the anticipated patterns congruent with other previous research.

Study II took a step further and scrutinised Tangney's shame pattern. The additional significant positive correlation between self-focus and the solution-seeking tendency makes it difficult to confirm that the avoidance tendency is the only definite distinctive behavioural outcome of shame. Indeed, it is unexpected to find self-focus to be positively related to the two vastly different behavioural responses, the avoidance and solution-seeking tendencies with the similar magnitude. This calls for further investigation.

Part of the originality of this research, is adopting different self-concepts that correspond to the cultures of the UK and Korea when researching shame, a self-conscious emotion. Such an attempt expanded the boundary of research on self-conscious emotions and bilinguals' emotion into a broader social context in relation to the self-concept that is widely used in the mainstream research in North American and European academia. As literature on non-English speaking cultures often fails to replicate the results from the English-speaking participants, in Study II, the hypothesised shame pattern was not replicated when the independent self-concept was applied. The same data produced meaningful findings by employing the interdependent self-concept, which confirmed the hypothesised pattern. In this way, this study provided an explanation of the discrepancies of cross-cultural findings on shame findings from cross-cultural studies on shame.

While shame has been described as leading to a socially less desirable behaviour especially compared to guilt (Tangney and Dearing, 2002), the findings particularly undermine this conventional understanding of shame, though not necessarily of guilt. A close inspection of Tangney's shame pattern in Study II provides evidence in support of the view that feeling ashamed may also lead to a socially adoptive behaviour. Nonetheless, the findings of Study II affirm that feeling guilty does not seem to be related to the avoidant behaviour. Such a difference between shame and guilt patterns suggests that the process of shame might be more complicated than guilt, which is sensitive to language and culture.

8.3 Conclusion of Study III

Study III investigated the relationships between the psychological, behavioural, and verbal aspects of shame in a chosen scenario. First, while the hypothesised shame and guilt patterns were replicated in both English and Korean conditions in the selected scenario, the

components of shame and guilt were cross-matched, also calling for re-conceptualisation of shame. The statistical analyses on the prediction of target words warn that the use of shame words isn't automatically assumed when the speaker experiences shame. It is possible that the target words have different functions when verbalised, which is different from using the word for the purpose of expressing the corresponding emotion. Second, while parts of the participants' experience and expression of shame in English seem to vary according to their current and previous exposure to the English-speaking culture, when both aspects of the exposure were considered, the differences disappeared. The distinctive patterns amongst the participants with limited exposure to the English-speaking culture demonstrates a need to pay more attention to these students' adjustment issues and mental health.

8.4. Critical Reflection on the Approaches to Language and Emotion.

Studies I and II were designed to explore different aspects of shame. Using this research design, it was hoped their findings would be complementary; but it turned out that the connection between the two sets of findings is weak and a theory to explain both findings unobtainable. For this reason, Study III was designed to focus on a particular scenario to investigate the further logical association between the findings, only to confirm the existence of the gap. One way to understand this gap is from the fundamentally different nature of the research design of Studies I and II. Study I took a phenomenological approach by using shame narratives freely produced by individual participants, while Study II took a more experimental psychology approach with predetermined items being presented to participants. Wilce (2009) points out that although these two approaches both concern "human sentience" (Desjarlais, 1994, p. 248), they approach it from a very different route, exhibiting a potential tension. This study tried to reconcile and consolidate the differences between the two approaches by using the same scenarios when collecting data. However, there may still be an unreconcilable discrepancy caused by the different approaches. Such fundamentally different approaches to data analysis could contribute to future research that considers emotion words and emotions themselves as two separate domains. In other words, while researchers using the phenomenological approach assume that the use of emotion words reveals the existence of such an emotional concept in the speaker's mind, as well as their cultural community, cognitive psychologists have been eagerly developing universal emotion concepts least affected by language or culture (i.e. developing a scientific model of basic principles for emotional processing). In this way, fundamentally different data analysis approaches could be

applied, which would contribute to emotion words and emotions themselves being studied as two separate domains.

In acknowledging the complexity of cognition, emotion, and language, it is possible that shame and shame words have a non-linear, multifaceted relationship. Emotional experiences are private and are not always easy to express in behaviour or words. Depending on the degree of emotional intensity and the context in which shame is experienced, shame can be extremely inexpressible. Investigating such covert aspects of shame might enhance the current limited understanding of shame. The existence of various shame words in Korean may be indicative of how such a private experience is expressed and shared using language in its cultural context among the Korean speakers.

For example, the deployment of a specific Korean shame word might set the tone of the conversation in ways which the speaker feels comfortable to share his or her shameful experience, while it sends the interlocutor a signal with the speaker's evaluation of the shameful experience. In other words, a shared understanding of a specific shame word might allow both parties to carry on a conversation based on common ground. Such an explanation is plausible when considering the interdependent culture of the Korean-speaking context. In interdependent culture, sharing such a private experience might be rather common, and the large range of shame words might make it easier to share feelings interpersonally. However, sharing a private experience may not be as encouraged in the English-speaking context, which tends to be more individualistic. In such an independent culture, Korean-English bilingual participants might keep such experiences to themselves or find alternative ways to cope with their emotions.

As Leaver (2005) argued, what people are actually feeling cannot be known if they do not name the feeling. Further research on the scope of shame words in Korean, or on how Korean-English bilinguals developed sophisticated shame vocabularies in Korean, might produce interesting findings that cannot be generated from the current shame research rooted in the English language and culture. The final goal of further tasks, therefore, is not establishing whether there is a one-to-one mapping of shame words onto shame as an emotion or a mapping of Korean shame words onto the English shame words. Instead, the task is to ask how the speakers utilise the vocabularies they already possess, how those words have been developed in a particular language or culture, and how shame is conceptualised in both language communities and amongst Korean-English bilinguals.

8.5 Critical Evaluation of the Definition of Shame

The mismatch between the psychological and behavioural components of shame and guilt raises the following question: which one is closer to the essence of emotion as a concept? In other words, if the relationship between self-focus and the avoidance tendency is loose, which one is a more essential part of shame?

One may propose that a psychological orientation is more important, as it is a mental process which is subjective and internal, and is less likely to be confounded by external influences such as; culture, religion, politics, stereotypes, and social norms. it is likely to be the behavioural and verbal responses that are reinforced by such factors. Such an observation led this research to include verbal responses and differentiate shame from guilt. This attempt fundamentally shaped how the target words were set and explored in this study, and examined the relationship between emotion and its verbal response, as well as that between emotion and its behavioural response, which is seldom researched in traditional emotion studies. More research might even find the plasticity of emotional response is mediated by language if studies discover language-related factors weaking the strong bond. This could be between a negative emotional arousal and a harmful – or less adoptive – behavioural response.

Stressing the behavioural aspect of emotion, such as avoidance tendency, however, is practical when addressing social issues that involve shame because it gears focus on the function of the emotion in society. Focusing on the socio-moral aspect of shame and guilt, Tangney et al. (2011) continued their research on prison studies and claimed that the avoidance tendency of shame is critically harmful. Also, how bullying occurs is closely related with making the victim feel ashamed, vulnerable, and silent, which are signs of avoidance. Thus, studies on the avoidant behaviour that is linked to feeling ashamed in the school environment need to be carried out because such research might contribute to the understanding of adult criminal history that might have been diverted when they were younger.

Differentiating the psychological and behavioural aspects of shame and guilt may also enable comparison of their counter emotions by examining how individuals express their pride. For example, saying ‘I’m proud of myself’ shows the speaker’s attention on self, while saying ‘I’m proud of my work’ reveals behaviour-focus. Thanking or honouring other(s) would imply the influence of the interdependent self-concept, while satisfaction with one’s achievement may suggest the influence of the independent self-concept, which can be further investigated as a cultural influence shaping self-conscious emotions.

8.6 Contribution

This section explains what gap the academic understanding of bilinguals' lives inside and outside of the academic field will address.

8.6.1 Bilingualism to monolingualism. With an awareness of the contexts in which studies on bilingualism were conducted, this study took a risk by seeking to understand Korean-English bilingual students' emotion, without drawing a comparison with English or Korean monolinguals. Instead, supporting Grosjean's (2012) perspective on bilinguals' lives that bilinguals are not two monolinguals in one body, this study attempted to compare how bilinguals govern two languages by comparing their English and Korean. This study also makes comparisons amongst bilingual students taking their exposure to the English-speaking culture into account. While efforts were made to study bilinguals' emotion without having monolingual participants as a reference point in this study, it does not mean that the comparison between bilinguals and monolinguals should be discouraged. Rather, this study attempted to introduce a new approach, showing that monolingualism does not need to be the starting point to understand bilingualism.

In going against convention, this research can serve as an attempt to establish the basic understanding of emotion and its verbal expression from bilinguals' perspectives. For example, this study revealed that Korean-English bilingual students showed the expected shame pattern in Korean (L1) only. Further research needs to be conducted to ascertain whether and how English being L2 influenced their shame patterns in English. As follow-up research, having English-L2 speakers from diverse L1 backgrounds might produce a significant contribution to this field. In particular, a group comparison between Korean-English bilinguals who were raised either in Korea or in the UK might provide useful information for endorsing educational policies regarding teaching and learning of and in English. It would be equally interesting and important to discover how English L1 speakers for whom Korean is their L2 employ Korean shame words, which will deepen the understanding of the structure of shame between the two cultures and the effect of socialisation on the use of L2 emotion words.

8.6.2 Educational policy in Korea. In many ways, this study provides evidence that the Korea-based students' English narratives are rather similar to those of the UK-based students. Since this study represents pioneering research on the effect of global colleges on their students' English proficiency, it has the potential to promote a healthy discussion regarding the Special Act on the Normalization of Public Education Article 8, which aims to

restrict Korean students from learning English ahead of the national curriculum in Year 3 (mentioned in the introduction). First, the way this policy was introduced echoes Goodenough's (1926) emphasis on the importance of acquisition of the national language. However, this study found early exposure to English was not harmful for the participants' Korean narratives, which is contrary to common assumptions. Second, this study revealed that when the students' current educational contexts was considered with their previous exposure to the English-speaking culture, more similarities than differences in their production of emotional narratives were found between those who go to global colleges and those who study abroad. This might suggest that the students in Korea in this study may have benefitted from education in the global colleges. However, the new educational policy is likely to slow down young students' English learning, thus, the number of Koreans who become fluent in English later on in their lives through the process of mainstream education is likely to diminish. In turn, this may result in students' less qualification to undertake higher education in English, which will eventually harm the success of global colleges, as fewer Korean students may meet the university's English language requirement.

The lecture scenario provides an example of how shaming may occur in educational contexts. Using the assessment tools developed in this study, a student's emotion and emotional narratives can be assessed before, during, and after their educational programme. If students respond differently in the English and Korean conditions, such a result could generate an informed debate on how education in English alters the ways in which these students experience and express their feelings. Accordingly, the students and their parents should be told of such a crucial effect so that they can make an informed decision for their educational path.

8.7 Closing Statement

As the Korean language is almost solely used by Koreans in the Korean Peninsula, it still embodies a unique Korean culture that has been little affected by other languages and cultures; however, the influence of the English language has become exceedingly more visible (Lee, 2016). For this reason, the growing population of Koreans who become fluent in English through education, are shaping not only their own lives but their Korean-speaking community, without realising their impact on Korean culture as a whole.

As a researcher who has been studying self-conscious emotions, and as a Korean who uses English as an additional yet dominant language through education, my research aimed to scrutinise the notion of shame from the interdisciplinary perspective, unblinded by a specific

cultural influence or academic trend. Referring back to the untranslatability of *Jjok-pal-lim* in the introduction, while the experience of shame is already unpleasant, the struggle of expressing it accurately in another language is a painful and burdensome task which is inevitable for bilinguals. Such hardship is not limited to shame but is part of the daily hurdles faced by many students who are educated in English as an additional language; furthermore, these students receive extremely limited support. This study was an attempt to expose this issue to both researchers, educational practitioners and policy makers, to provide a trajectory on bilingual students' studies. This research also intended to inform English learners and their parents/carers/guardians, about one aspect regarding the process of learning English fluently in the hopes of empowering them to make research-informed decisions regarding the educational trajectories that will impact their lives.

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Appendix A. Materials used in the study

Overall Instruction

Overall Instructions

On the following pages, you will see descriptions of different scenarios. As you read each scenario, try to imagine yourself in the same situation. Each scenario is followed by several statements on how people might react with thoughts, feelings or actions or by directly asking you to give your own opinion.

Please consider this information carefully before deciding whether or not to participate in this research.

You might feel like answering the same or very similar questions again either in the same language or in a different language. This is intentional. Please answer them all and try not to rely on your previous answers.

Please provide your email address. If you have any trouble with taking this survey or win a prize, I'll contact you via the email address you provide. This information will be separately stored with your data.

- [ ] Your name (optional)
- [ ] Your email address or Cambridge CRSid
- [ ] No thanks.

Informed consent

Purpose of the research:
This research examines the expression of emotion among different language speakers.

What you will do in this research:
There are four experiments in two parts and you will be randomly assigned to some or all of these experiments. You will fill out a set questionnaire with a variety of different questions. You might be asked to fill in the same set of questionnaire more than once.

Time required:
Each experiment takes between 5 to 20 minutes. Depending on the randomized condition, it will take between 30 minutes to an hour to complete the research.

Risk:
There are no anticipated risks associated with participating in this research. The effects of participating should be comparable to those you would experience from viewing a computer monitor and using a mouse or keyboard.

Benefits:
This research is self-funded and there are no direct benefit to participating in this research unless you were informed about compensation in advance.

Confidentiality:
Your participation in this study will remain confidential, and your identity will not be stored with your data. Your responses will be assigned a code number, and your information will be kept confidentially and be further studied if necessary. The results of this study are likely to appear in journals or conferences. However, the data will be anonymous.

Participation and withdrawal:
Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, and you may withdraw at any time. If you are under 18 years old, I will need your primary care-giver's approval of using your data.

Agreement:

I understand the nature and purpose of this research and agree to participate in this study. I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time without incurring any penalty.

If you have questions about this research, please contact at mkmk2@cam.ac.uk.

- ◯ Yes, I agree

What is your sex?

- ◯ Male
- ◯ Female
- ◯ I prefer not to answer.

How old are you?

What is the most commonly used language where you are living now? Please choose up to two languages if necessary.

- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Japanese
- ☐ Other (Specify)
- ☐ English
- ☐ Korean
- ☐ Other (Specify)

In which language(s) do you take classes in your current institution? Please choose up to two languages if necessary.

- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Japanese
- ☐ Other (Specify)
- ☐ English
- ☐ Korean
- ☐ Other (Specify)

What has been your primary language for your education so far? Please choose up to two languages if necessary.

- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Japanese
- ☐ Other (Specify)
- ☐ English
- ☐ Korean
- ☐ Other (Specify)

What is the language you first learned? What is your mother tongue?

- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Korean
- ☐ Other (Specify)
- ☐ English
- ☐ Japanese

What is your primary/dominant language (i.e., the one you speak most of the time)? Please choose up to two languages if necessary.

- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Japanese
- ☐ Other (Specify)
- ☐ English
- ☐ Korean
- ☐ Other (Specify)

Did you learn English as a second/foreign/additional language at school?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯

No

Have you been abroad to study English language?

- Yes (How long?)
- No

Have you learned or are you learning Korean as an additional language?

- Yes (How long?)
- No

What other languages can you speak? Please pick up the language(s) you speak and drag to one of the boxes to the right side.

Items	[Fluent] I can communicate in this language fluently.	[Moderate] I can communicate in this language but my understanding of this language is moderate.	[Limited] I have learned this language or lived in a country using this language but my understanding of this language is limited.
Arabic			
Bengali			
Chinese			
Dutch			
English			
French			
German			
Hindi			
Italian			
Japanese			
Korean			
Malay-Indonesian			
Persian			
Portuguese			
Turkish			
Russian			
Spanish			
Vietnamese			
Other (Specify)			
Other (Specify)			
Other (Specify)			

Please provide the names of countries that you have lived more than a year in your life.

In which county do you live now?

What is your nationality?

If you are an undergraduate student, what year are you in?

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4+
- I already have a BA or an equivalent degree.
- I am a graduate student pursuing a Master's or an equivalent degree. (i.e. PGCE)
- I have a MA or an equivalent degree.
- I am a graduate student pursuing a PhD.
- I have a PhD degree.
- I prefer not to answer.

If you are a university student or currently graduated, which university are/were you in?

AoSCN - Korean

안내문

앞으로 당신은 다양한 시나리오에 대한 묘사를 읽게 됩니다. 당신이 각 시나리오의 상황에 처해있다고 상상해보십시오. 각각의 시나리오에는 당신이 어떻게 생각하고 느끼고 행동할지, 그리고 어떻게 대응할지에 대한 질문이 주어집니다. 대답에 옳고 그름이 없습니다. 스스로 생각하는 바를 자유롭게 써주세요.

예문

버스에 올라타자마자, 목적지와 다른 방향으로 가는 버스임을 알았습니다.

1. 당신은 이런 상황을 어떻게 받아들이겠습니까? 어떤 기분이 들 것 같나요?

당황할 것 같다.

2. 당신이 실제로 이런 상황에 처했을 경우, 버스운전기사나 버스에 탄 다른 사람들에게 말을 건네겠습니까? 만약 그렇다면 실제로 이야기하듯이 답변해주세요.

운전기사에게 "저 이 버스가 ㅇㅇ에 가는 줄 알고 탔는데요. 맞나요?" 라고 말할 것 같다.

3. 당신이 실제로 이런 상황에 처했을 경우, 이 경험을 또다른 누구에게 털어놓겠습니까? 만약 그렇다면 어떻게 이야기하실 건가요? 실제로 누군가에게 이야기하듯이 (혹은 문자를 보내는듯이) 답변해주세요.

친구에게 문자를 보낼 거 같아. "헐! 나 버스 또 잘못 타는 바람에 길에서 1시간이나 버렸어. ㅠㅠ."

대규모 강의 시간에 당신은 친구와 이야기를 나누다가 당신 혼자만 걸립니다.

당신은 이런 상황을 어떻게 받아들이겠습니까? 어떤 기분이 들 것 같나요?

당신은 이런 상황에서 당신의 친구나 다른 학생(들) 또는 선생님/교수님에게 말을 건네겠습니까? 만약 그렇다면 실제로 말하듯이 답변해주세요.

- [ ] 나는 이 친구에게 이렇게 말할 것이다.
- [ ] 나는 다른 학생(들)에게 이렇게 말할 것이다.
- [ ] 나는 선생님/교수님께 이렇게 말할 것이다.
- [ ] 이런 상황에서 나는 말을 하지 않을 것이다.

이런 경험을 또다른 누군가에게 털어놓으시겠나요?

- ◯ 네
- ◯ 아니오

위 문항에 "네"라고 대답하셨다면, 누구에게 어떻게 이야기하실 건가요? 실제로 이야기하듯이 (혹은 문자를 보내거나 음성메세지를 남기듯이) 답변해주세요.

당신은 친구와 함께 학회/세미나에 참석했습니다. 학회/세미나 중반에 당신은 당신의 친구가 코를 골고 있는 것을 발견합니다.

당신은 이런 상황을 어떻게 받아들이겠습니까? 어떤 기분이 들 것 같나요?

당신은 이런 상황에서 당신의 친구나 주변사람(들)에게 말을 건네겠습니까? 만약 그렇다면 실제로 말하듯이 답변해주세요.

- [ ] 나는 이 친구에게 이렇게 말할 것이다.
- [ ] 나는 주변사람들에게 이렇게 말할 것이다.
- [ ] 이런 상황에서 나는 말을 하지 않을 것이다.

이런 경험을 또다른 누군가에게 털어놓으시겠나요?

- ◯ 네
- ◯ 아니오

위 문항에 "네"라고 대답하셨다면, 누구에게 어떻게 이야기하실 건가요? 실제로 이야기하듯이 (혹은 문자를 보내거나 음성메세지를 남기듯이) 답변해주세요.

당신은 시험을 아주 잘 치렀다고 생각했습니다. 그러나 나중에 당신은 사실 시험을 잘 못 본 것을 알게됩니다.

당신은 이런 상황을 어떻게 받아들이겠습니까? 어떤 기분이 들 것 같나요?

당신은 이런 상황에서 당신의 친구(들이)나 주변사람(들)에게 말을 건네겠습니까? 만약 그렇다면 실제로 말하듯이 답변해주세요.

- [ ] 나는 친구(들) 혹은 주변사들(들)에게 이렇게 말할 것이다.
- [ ] 이런 상황에서 나는 말을 하지 않을 것이다.

이런 경험을 또다른 누군가에게 털어놓으시겠나요?

- ◯ 네
- ◯ 아니오

위 문항에 "네"라고 대답하셨다면, 누구에게 어떻게 이야기하실 건가요? 실제로 이야기하듯이 (혹은 문자를 보내거나 음성메세지를 남기듯이) 답변해주세요.

당신이 쓴 글이 교내 올해 최고의 작문상을 수상했습니다. 학교위원회가 학교 웹사이트에 당신의 글을 게시할 것에 대해 동의를 구합니다.

당신은 이런 상황을 어떻게 받아들이겠습니까? 어떤 기분이 들 것 같나요?

당신은 이런 상황에서 학교위원회에게 답변을 하시겠습니까? 만약 그렇다면 실제와 같이 답변해주세요.

- [ ] 나는 학교위원회에 이렇게 말할 것이다.
- [ ] 이런 상황에서 나는 말을 하지 않을 것이다.

이런 경험을 또다른 누군가에게 털어놓으시겠나요?

- ◯ 네
- ◯ 아니오

위 문항에 "네"라고 대답하셨다면, 누구에게 어떻게 이야기하실 건가요? 실제로 이야기하듯이 (혹은 문자를 보내거나 음성메세지를 남기듯이) 답변해주세요.

당신은 당신 친구의 블로그/페이스북에 당신이 통제가 되지 않은 모습의 사진 (예 술에 취하거나 잠이 든 경우)이 게시된 것을 발견합니다.

당신은 이런 상황을 어떻게 받아들이겠습니까? 어떤 기분이 들 것 같나요?

당신은 이런 상황에서 사진을 올린 당신의 친구에게 말을 건네겠습니까? 만약 그렇다면 실제로 말하듯이 답변해주세요.

- [ ] 나는 이 친구에게 이렇게 말할 것이다.
- [ ] 이런 상황에서 나는 말을 하지 않을 것이다.

이런 경험을 또다른 누군가에게 털어놓으시겠나요?

- ◯ 네
- ◯ 아니오

위 문항에 "네"라고 대답하셨다면, 누구에게 어떻게 이야기하실 건가요? 실제로 이야기하듯이 (혹은 문자를 보내거나 음성메세지를 남기듯이) 답변해주세요.

어느날 당신은 친구들과 저녁식사를 하는데, 그날따라 자신이 대화도 잘 이끌어 나가고 스스로도 멋져 보였습니다. 그 날 이후 함께 온 친구의 이성친구가 당신의 SNS(블로그/페이스북 등)을 평소보다 자주 방문합니다.

당신은 이런 상황을 어떻게 받아들이겠습니까? 어떤 기분이 들 것 같나요?

당신은 이런 상황에서 당신의 친구나 그 친구의 이성친구에게 말을 건네겠습니까? 만약 그렇다면 실제로 말하듯이 답변해주세요.

- [ ] 나는 내 친구에게 이렇게 말할 것이다.
- [ ] 나는 내 친구의 이성친구에게 이렇게 말할 것이다.
- [ ] 이런 상황에서 나는 말을 하지 않을 것이다.

이런 경험을 또다른 누군가에게 털어놓으시겠나요?

- ◯ 네
- ◯ 아니오

위 문항에 "네"라고 대답하셨다면, 누구에게 어떻게 이야기하실 건가요? 실제로 이야기하듯이 (혹은 문자를 보내거나 음성메세지를 남기듯이) 답변해주세요.

일하는 곳에서 당신이 무언가를 망가뜨립니다.

당신은 이런 상황을 어떻게 받아들이겠습니까? 어떤 기분이 들 것 같나요?

당신은 이런 상황에서 동료(들)에게 말을 건네겠습니까? 만약 그렇다면 실제로 말하듯이 답변해주세요.

- [ ] 나는 동료(들)에게 이렇게 말할 것이다.
- [ ] 이런 상황에서 나는 말을 하지 않을 것이다.

이런 경험을 또다른 누군가에게 털어놓으시겠나요?

- ◯ 네
- ◯ 아니오

위 문항에 "네"라고 대답하셨다면, 누구에게 어떻게 이야기하실 건가요? 실제로 이야기하듯이 (혹은 문자를 보내거나 음성메세지를 남기듯이) 답변해주세요.

당신이 직장에서 실수를 했는데 당신의 동료가 그 비난을 받고 있는 것을 알게됩니다.

당신은 이런 상황을 어떻게 받아들이겠습니까? 어떤 기분이 들 것 같나요?

당신은 이런 상황에서 그 동료나 상사에게 말을 건네겠습니까? 만약 그렇다면 실제로 말하듯이 답변해주세요.

- [ ] 나는 그 동료에게 이렇게 말할 것이다.
- [ ] 나는 상사에게 이렇게 말할 것이다.
- [ ] 이런 상황에서 나는 말을 하지 않을 것이다.

이런 경험을 또다른 누군가에게 털어놓으시겠나요?

- ○ 네
- ○ 아니오

위 문항에 "네"라고 대답하셨다면, 누구에게 어떻게 이야기하실 건가요? 실제로 이야기하듯이 (혹은 문자를 보내거나 음성메세지를 남기듯이) 답변해주세요.

당신은 직장동료들과 함께 어떤 그룹 프로젝트를 아주 열심히 했습니다. 하지만 프로젝트의 성공의 대가로 상사가 뜻밖에 당신에게만 보너스를 줍니다.

당신은 이런 상황을 어떻게 받아들이겠습니까? 어떤 기분이 들 것 같나요?

당신은 이런 상황에서 상사나 당신의 그룹 인원들에게 말을 건네겠습니까? 만약 그렇다면 실제로 말하듯이 답변해주세요.

- [ ] 나는 상사에게 이렇게 말할 것이다.
- [ ] 나는 그룹 인원들에게 이렇게 말할 것이다.
- [ ] 이런 상황에서 나는 말을 하지 않을 것이다.

이런 경험을 또다른 누군가에게 털어놓으시겠나요?

- ◯ 네
- ◯ 아니오

위 문항에 "네"라고 대답하셨다면, 누구에게 어떻게 이야기하실 건가요? 실제로 이야기하듯이 (혹은 문자를 보내거나 음성메세지를 남기듯이) 답변해주세요.

당신은 자원봉사를 시작했습니다. 하지만 예상보다 그 일은 벅차고 시간도 많이 쓰입니다. 당신은 진지하게 자원봉사를 그만둘까 고민하면서도 그 일을 통해 당신은 다른 사람을 행복하게 해주는 게 마음에 걸립니다.

당신은 이런 상황을 어떻게 받아들이겠습니까? 어떤 기분이 들 것 같나요?

당신은 이런 상황에서 자원봉사 기관에 있는 누군가에게 말을 건네겠습니까? 만약 그렇다면 실제로 말하듯이 답변해주세요.

- ☐ 나는 자원봉사 기관에 있는 사람에게 이렇게 말할 것이다.
- ☐ 이런 상황에서 나는 말을 하지 않을 것이다.

이런 경험을 또다른 누군가에게 털어놓으시겠나요?

- ◯ 네
- ◯ 아니오

위 문항에 "네"라고 대답하셨다면, 누구에게 어떻게 이야기하실 건가요? 실제로 이야기하듯이 (혹은 문자를 보내거나 음성메세지를 남기듯이) 답변해주세요.

Default Block

AoSCN - English

Instruction

On the following pages, you will see descriptions of different scenarios. As you read each scenario, try to imagine yourself in the same situation. Each scenario is followed by several questions on how you might react with thoughts, feelings or actions. Please write as freely as you think.

Example

You get on a bus and realize it is going to a wrong direction.

1. In the situation like this, how would you feel?
I'd be embarrassed.

2. If you were in a situation like this, would you like to talk to the driver or other passengers? If so, please write as if you are actually talking.

To the driver: "I thought this bus goes to A. Am I on the right bus?"

3. If you were in a situation like this, would you like to talk about this to someone else? If so, to whom? Please write your response as if you are actually talking (texting or leaving a voice message) to the person.

To a friend: "OMG! I took a wrong bus again and wasted an hour... :("

You might feel like you have answered the same or very similar questions already either in the same language or in a different language. This is intended. Please try to answer them all and do not try to rely on the previous answers or remember your answers.

You and your friend are talking in a big lecture class or seminar, and only you get into trouble.

How would you feel in a situation like this? What kind of emotions would you be likely to experience?

In a situation like this, would you say something to your friend, other students or teacher/instructor? If so, please write as if you are actually talking to this person.

- [ ] Yes, I'd say to my friend like this:
- [ ] Yes, I'd say to other students like this:
- [ ] Yes, I'd say to the teacher like this:
- [ ] No, I would not say in a situation like this.

Would you talk about such experience to someone else?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

If you said "yes" to the previous question, to whom and how would you talk about it? Please write your response as if you are actually talking (texting or leaving a voice message) to the person.

You and your friend are at a conference. Half way through it, you notice that your friend is snoring.

How would you feel in a situation like this? What kind of emotions would you be likely to experience?

In a situation like this, would you say something to your friend or those around you? If so, please write as if you are actually talking to this person.

- ☐ Yes, I'd say to this friend like this:
- ☐ Yes, I'd say to those around me like this:
- ☐ No, I would not say in a situation like this.

Would you talk about such experience to someone else?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

If you said "yes" to the previous question, to whom and how would you talk about it? Please write your response as if you are actually talking (texting or leaving a voice message) to the person.

You walked out of an exam thinking you did extremely well. Then you find out you did it poorly.

How would you feel in a situation like this? What kind of emotions would you be likely to experience?

In a situation like this, would you say something to your friend(s) or those around you? If so, please write as if you are actually talking.

- [ ] Yes, I would say to my friend(s) or those around me like this:
- [ ] No, I would not say in a situation like this.

Would you talk about such experience to someone else?

- ( ) Yes
- ( ) No

If you said "yes" to the previous question, to whom and how would you talk about it? Please write your response as if you are actually talking (texting or leaving a voice message) to the person.

At school, your essay was rewarded as the best essay of the year. The school committee asks your permission to present your essay on the school website.

How would you feel in a situation like this? What kind of emotions would you be likely to experience?

In a situation like this, would you say something to your school committee? If so, please write as if you are actually talking to this person.

- [ ] Yes, I would say to my school committee like this:
- [ ] No, I would not say in a situation like this.

Would you talk about such experience to someone else?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

If you said "yes" to the previous question, to whom and how would you talk about it? Please write your response as if you are actually talking (texting or leaving a voice message) to the person.

On your friend's blog/facebook page, you found out that your friend uploaded a funny picture of you that was taken when you were out of control (eg. drunk/asleep).

How would you feel in a situation like this? What kind of emotions would you be likely to experience?

In a situation like this, would you say something to your friend who uploaded the picture? If so, please write as if you are actually talking to this person.

- ☐ Yes, I would say to this friend like this:
- ☐ No, I would not say in a situation like this.

Would you talk about such experience to someone else?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

If you said "yes" to the previous question, to whom and how would you talk about it? Please write your response as if you are actually talking (texting or leaving a voice message) to the person.

You had a dinner with friends one evening, and you felt especially witty and attractive. Later, your friend's date visits your blog/facebook page more

than usual.

How would you feel in a situation like this? What kind of emotions would you be likely to experience?

In a situation like this, would you say something to this friend or his/her date? If so, please write as if you are actually talking to this person.

- [ ] Yes, I'd say to this friend like this:
- [ ] Yes, I'd say to those my friend's date like this:
- [ ] No, I would not say in a situation like this.

Would you talk about such experience to someone else?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

If you said "yes" to the previous question, to whom and how would you talk about it? Please write your response as if you are actually talking (texting or leaving a voice message) to the person.

You break something at work.

How would you feel in a situation like this? What kind of emotions would you be likely to experience?

In a situation like this, would you say something to your coworker(s)? If so, please write as if you are actually talking.

- [ ] Yes, I'd say to my coworker(s) like this:
- [ ] No, I would not say in a situation like this.

Would you talk about such experience to someone else?

- Yes
- No

If you said "yes" to the previous question, to whom and how would you talk about it? Please write your response as if you are actually talking (texting or leaving a voice message) to the person.

You make a mistake at work and find out that a coworker is blamed for the error.

How would you feel in a situation like this? What kind of emotions would you be likely to experience?

In a situation like this, would you say something to this coworker or your boss? If so, please write as if you are actually talking.

- [ ] Yes, I'd say to this coworker like this:
- [ ] Yes, I'd say to my boss like this:
- [ ] No, I would not say in a situation like this.

Would you talk about such experience to someone else?

- Yes
- No

If you said "yes" to the previous question, to whom and how would you talk about it? Please write your response as if you are actually talking (texting or leaving a voice message) to the person.

You and a group of coworkers worked very hard together on a project. Unexpectedly, only you receive a bonus because the project was such a success.

How would you feel in a situation like this? What kind of emotions would you be likely to experience?

In a situation like this, would you say something to your boss or your group? If so, please write as if you are actually talking.

- [ ] Yes, I'd say to my boss like this:
- [ ] Yes, I'd say to my group like this:
- [ ] No, I would not say in a situation like this.

Would you talk about such experience to someone else?

- ( ) Yes
- ( ) No

If you said "yes" to the previous question, to whom and how would you talk about it?Please write your response as if you are actually talking (texting or leaving a voice message) to the person.

You started to do volunteer work. However, your experience turns out to be frustrating and time-consuming. You think seriously about quitting, but then you see how happy you are making others feel.

How would you feel in a situation like this? What kind of emotions would you be likely to experience?

In a situation like this, would you say something to someone at the volunteer work? If so, please write as if you are actually talking.

- [ ] Yes, I would say to someone at the volunteer work like this:
- [ ] No, I would not say in a situation like this.

Would you talk about such experience to someone else?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

If you said "yes" to the previous question, to whom and how would you talk about it? Please write your response as if you are actually talking (texting or leaving a voice message) to the person.

Test of Self Conscious Emotion - Korean

설명문

앞으로 당신은 다양한 시나리오에 대한 묘사를 읽게 됩니다. 각 시나리오를 읽으며 당신이 그 시나리오의 상황에 있다고 상상해보십시오. 각각의 시나리오에는 사람들이 어떻게 생각하고 느끼고 행동할지에 대한 보기가 주어집니다. 당신이 그 상황에서 어떻게 행동할지, 주어진 보기에 동의하는지 혹은 동의하지 않는지 상상해 보십시오. 옳고 그른 대답은 없습니다. 이 설문지는 단지 다양항 상황에서 사람들이 어떻게 생각하고 느끼는지를 알아보기 위해 제작되었습니다. 각각의 질문들은 매우 중요하므로 가능하면 어떤 질문에 대한 답도 생략하지 않을 것을 당부 드립니다.

설문의 보기는 5점 척도로 제작되었습니다. 아래 예시문에서 저는 일요일 아침 일찍 친구를 깨우고 싶지 않기 때문에 첫번째 보기에는 "매우 그렇지 않다" 항목을 선택하였습니다. 이는 제가 친구를 깨우지 않을 것을 의미합니다. 두번째 보기의 경우, 저는 대개 일찍 일어나면 바로 아침을 먹기 때문에 "매우 그렇다" 를 선택하였습니다.

어느 토요일 아침 당신은 일찍 일어났습니다. 날씨는 춥고 비가 내립니다.

	매우 그렇지 않다	그렇지 않다.	그럴수도 있다.	그렇다.	매우 그렇다.
친구에게 전화를 걸어본다.	✓	○	○	○	○
바로 아침식사를 한다.	○	○	○	○	✓

이미 비슷한 혹은 같은 내용의 설문지를 같은 언어로 혹은 다른 언어로 했을 수 있습니다.
이전의 답을 기억하려 하지 말고 이번 설문을 답해주세요.

대규모 강의 시간에 당신은 친구와 이야기를 나누다가 당신 혼자만 걸립니다. 이 상황에서 당신은

	매우 그렇지 않다.	그렇지 않다.	그럴 수도 있다.	그렇다.	매우 그렇다.
강의실에 모든 사람들이 당신을 쳐다보고 있는 것 같다.	○	○	○	○	○
강의 시간 동안 당신이 좋은 학생이라는 것을 보여주기 위해 노력한다.	○	○	○	○	○
교수님께 사과한다.	○	○	○	○	○
"난 걸릴 짓을 했어." 라고 생각한다.	○	○	○	○	○
이야기를 멈춘다.	○	○	○	○	○
너무 당황스러워 강의에 집중할 수 없을 것 같다.	○	○	○	○	○

당신은 친구와 함께 학회/세미나에 참석했습니다. 학회/세미나 중반에 당신은 당신의 친구가 코를 골고 있는 것을 발견합니다. 이 상황에서 당신은

	매우 그렇지 않다.	그렇지 않다.	그럴 수도 있다.	그렇다.	매우 그렇다.
모르는 체 한다.	○	○	○	○	○
상황이 웃기다고 느낀다.	○	○	○	○	○
다른 사람들에게 미안해진다.	○	○	○	○	○
마음이 편치 않다.	○	○	○	○	○
친구를 깨워본다.	○	○	○	○	○
친구의 행동이 부적절하다고 생각한다.	○	○	○	○	○

당신은 시험을 아주 잘 치렀다고 생각했습니다. 그러나 나중에 당신은 사실 시험을 잘 못 본 것을 알게 됩니다. 이 상황에서 당신은

	매우 그렇지 않다.	그렇지 않다.	그럴 수도 있다.	그렇다.	매우 그렇다.
수업을 철회할까 생각한다.	○	○	○	○	○
"다음에 더 열심히 공부해야지"라고 생각한다.	○	○	○	○	○
"난 멍청해."라고 느낀다.	○	○	○	○	○
"공부를 좀 더 할 껄"하고 후회한다.	○	○	○	○	○
"단지 시험일 뿐이야."라고 생각한다.	○	○	○	○	○

당신이 쓴 글이 교내 올해 최고의 작문상을 수상했습니다. 학교위원회가 학교 웹사이트에 당신의 글을 게시할 것에 대해 동의를 구합니다. 당신은 이 상황에서

	매우 그렇지 않다.	그렇지 않다.	그럴 수도 있다.	그렇다.	매우 그렇다.
당신 스스로 뿌듯하게 느낀다.	○	○	○	○	○
다른 사람이 어떻게 생각할까 걱정이 든다.	○	○	○	○	○
이번에 운이 좋았다고 생각한다.	○	○	○	○	○
당신이 한 일에 자부심을 느낀다.	○	○	○	○	○
당신의 글을 학교 웹사이트에 게시할 것에 동의한다.	○	○	○	○	○
얼굴이 붉어진다.	○	○	○	○	○

당신은 당신 친구의 블로그/페이스북에 당신의 통제가 되지 않은 모습의 사진 (예 술에 취하거나 잠이 든 경우)이 게시된 것을 발견합니다. 당신은 이 상황에서

	매우 그렇지 않다.	그렇지 않다.	그럴 수도 있다.	그렇다.	매우 그렇다.
사진에 찍힌 당신의 모습에 대해 당황스럽거나 민망해한다.	○	○	○	○	○
친구에게 실망감을 느낀다.	○	○	○	○	○
자신이 통제되지 않았던 것에 대해 후회한다.	○	○	○	○	○
친구에게 당신의 사진을 삭제해달라고 요청한다.	○	○	○	○	○
사진이 웃기다 혹은 재밌다고 여긴다.	○	○	○	○	○

어느날 당신은 친구들과 저녁식사를 하는데, 그날따라 자신이 대화도 잘 이끌어 나가고 스스로도 멋져 보였습니다. 그 날 이후 함께 저녁을 했던 친구의 이성친구가 당신의 SNS(블로그/페이스북 등)을 평소보다 자주 방문합니다. 당신은 이 상황에서

	매우 그렇지 않다.	그렇지 않다.	그럴 수도 있다.	그렇다.	매우 그렇다.
온라인 커뮤니케이션을 진지하게 받아들이지 않는다.	○	○	○	○	○
당분간 친구와의 연락을 피할 것 같다.	○	○	○	○	○
"나는 내 친구가 어떻게 느낄지 더 주의를 기울여야 했어."라고 생각한다.	○	○	○	○	○
당신의 외모에 대해 만족감을 느낀다.	○	○	○	○	○
좋은 인상을 남긴 것에 뿌듯해한다.	○	○	○	○	○

일하는 곳에서 당신이 무언가를 망가뜨립니다. 당신은 이 상황에서

	매우 그렇지 않다.	그렇지 않다.	그럴 수도 있다.	그렇다.	매우 그렇다.
회사를 그만 둘 생각을 한다.					
"망가뜨리지 말았어야 했는데."라고 생각한다.					
"어떻게든 고쳐야겠어."라고 생각한다.					
이 사실을 비밀로 한다.					
"난 너무 조심성이 없어." 라고 생각한다.					

당신이 직장에서 실수를 했는데 당신의 동료가 그 비난을 받고 있는 것을 알게 됩니다. 당신은 이 상황에서

	매우 그렇지 않다.	그렇지 않다.	그럴 수도 있다.	그렇다.	매우 그렇다.
죄책감을 느낀다.					
"인생은 불공평해."라고 여긴다.					
상황을 바로잡으려고 한다.					
그 동료를 피한다.					
창피해한다.					

당신은 동료들과 함께 어떤 그룹 프로젝트를 아주 열심히 했습니다. 하지만 프로젝트의 성공의 대가로 상사가 뜻밖에 당신에게만 보너스를 줍니다. 당신은 이 상황에서

	매우 그렇지 않다.	그렇지 않다	그럴 수도 있다.	그렇다.	매우 그렇다.
자신을 자랑스럽게 여긴다.					
보너스를 거절해야 한다고 느낀다.					
동료들로부터 거리감을 느낀다.					
상사가 그룹의 다른 동료들도 인정해줘야 한다고 생각한다.					
노력한 대가로 보상을 받았다고 느낀다.					

당신은 자원봉사를 시작했습니다. 하지만 예상보다 그 일은 벅차고 시간도 많이 쓰입니다. 당신은 진지하게 자원봉사를 그만둘까 고민하면서도 그 일을 통해 당신은 다른 사람을 행복하게 해주는 게 마음에 걸립니다. 이 상황에서 당신은

	매우 그렇지 않다.	그렇지 않다.	그럴 수도 있다.	그렇다.	매우 그렇다.
당신이 다른 사람들을 도왔다는 생각에 뿌듯함을 느낀다.					
당신은 마음에서 우러나지 않은 일을 억지로 한다고 느낀다.					
당신은 스스로에 대해 충분히 만족한다.					
"이 일에 좀 더 신경을 써야겠어." 라고 생각한다.					
자신이 이기적이라고 여긴다.					

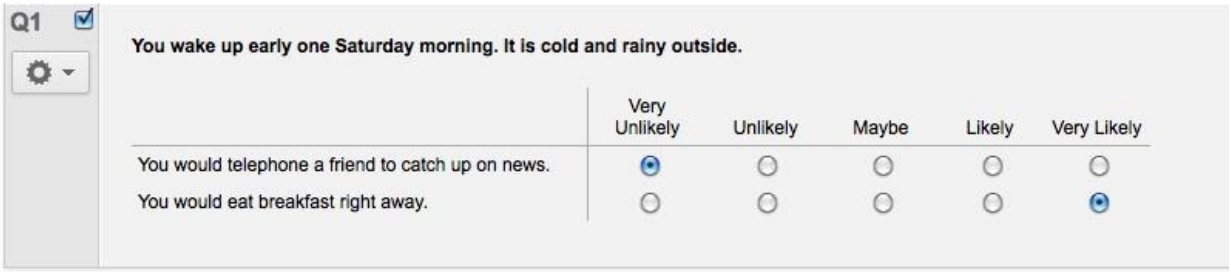
Test of Self Conscious Emotion - English

Instructions

On the following pages, you will see descriptions of different scenarios. As you read each scenario, try to imagine yourself in that same situation. Each scenario is followed by several statements on how people might react with thoughts, feelings or actions. Imagine how you might react and answer how strongly you would agree or disagree with the statements that follow each scenario. When doing so, please answer as quickly as possible.

There are no right or wrong answers. I'm simply interested in your own thoughts and ideas about these scenarios. Each question is very important so if possible, please try not to skip any items.

Below is a sample question.



In this example, I've rated of the answers by clicking one of the five point scales. I chose "Very Unlikely" for the first item because I wouldn't want to wake up a friend early on Saturday morning. So it is very unlikely that I would do that. I circled "Very Likely" for the second item because I usually wake up early and eat breakfast right away.

You might feel like you have answered the same or very similar questions already either in the same language or in a different language. This is intended. Please try to answer them all and do not try to rely on the previous answers or remember your answers.

You and your friend are talking in a big lecture class, and only you get into trouble.

How likely is it that:

	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Maybe	Likely	Very Likely
You'd stop talking.	○	○	○	○	○
You'd feel like everyone in the class is looking at you.	○	○	○	○	○
You'd think: "I deserve to get into trouble."	○	○	○	○	○
You'd try to prove that you are a good student during the class.	○	○	○	○	○
You'd be so embarrassed that you could not focus on the lecture.	○	○	○	○	○
You'd apologize to the lecturer.	○	○	○	○	○

You and your friend are at a conference/seminar. Half way through it, you notice that your friend is snoring. How likely is it that:

	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Maybe	Likely	Very Likely
You'd find it funny.	○	○	○	○	○
You'd feel uncomfortable.	○	○	○	○	○

	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Maybe	Likely	Very Likely
You'd feel sorry for other people in the audience.					
You'd pretend that you didn't notice it.					
You'd try to wake your friend up.					
You'd think that your friend's behavior is inappropriate.					

You walked out of an exam thinking you did extremely well. Then you find out you did it poorly. How likely is it that:

	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Maybe	Likely	Very Likely
You'd think about dropping the class.					
You'd think: "I should have studied harder."					
You'd think: "I'm stupid."					
You'd think: "It's just a test."					
You'd think: "I should study harder next time."					

At school, your essay was rewarded as the best essay of the year. The school committee asks your permission to present your essay on the school website. How likely is it that:

	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Maybe	Likely	Very Likely
You'd worry about what others think of you.					
You'd think that you were lucky this time.					
You'd blush.					
You'd feel good about yourself.					
You'd agree to present your essay on the school web site.					
You'd be proud of your work.					

On your friend's blog/facebook page, you found out that your friend uploaded a funny picture of you that was taken when you were out of control (eg. drunk/asleep). How likely is it that:

	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Maybe	Likely	Very Likely
You'd ask your friend to take the picture down.					
You'd feel that it is fun to look at.					
You'd regret having been out of control.					
You'd feel embarrassed about you in the picture.					
You'd feel disappointed with your friend.					

You had a dinner with friends one evening, and you felt especially witty and attractive. Later, your friend's date visits your SNS (i.e. blog/facebook page) more than usual. How likely is it that:

	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Maybe	Likely	Very Likely
You'd probably avoid contacting your friend for a while.					
You'd feel pleased to have made such a good impression.					
You'd think: "I should have paid more attention to what my friend was feeling."					
You'd feel satisfied with your appearance.					
You wouldn't take the on-line communication seriously.					

You break something at work. How likely is it that:

	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Maybe	Likely	Very Likely
You'd keep it secret.					
You'd think: "I should not have broken it."					
You'd think: "I'm so clumsy."					
You'd think about quitting.					
You'd think: "I somehow need to fix it."					

You make a mistake at work and find out that a coworker is blamed for the error. How likely is it that:

	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Maybe	Likely	Very Likely
You'd be eager to correct the situation.					
You'd think: "Life is not fair."					
You'd avoid the coworker.					
You'd feel guilty.					
You'd feel ashamed.					

You and a group of coworkers worked very hard together on a project. Unexpectedly, only you receive a bonus because the project was such a success. How likely is it that:

	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Maybe	Likely	Very Likely
You'd feel proud of yourself.					
You'd feel the boss should have acknowledged the others in the group.					
You'd feel you should not accept it.					
You'd feel your hard work had paid off.					
You'd feel distance from your colleagues.					

You started to do volunteer work. However, your experience turns out to be frustrating and time-consuming. You think seriously about quitting, but then you see how happy you are making others feel. How likely is it that:

	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Maybe	Likely	Very Likely

	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Maybe	Likely	Very Likely
You'd quit.	○	○	○	○	○
You'd feel great that you had helped others.	○	○	○	○	○
You'd feel you were forced into doing something you really did not want to do.	○	○	○	○	○
You'd think: "I should be more concerned about this work."	○	○	○	○	○
You'd feel good enough about yourself.	○	○	○	○	○
You'd feel selfish.	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix B-1

Appendix B-1

KOR02's target word comparison in English and Korean

		English	Korean
Lecture			
	Initial feeling	gosh why does the prof only point at me? well but I got to concentrate on the lecture	Shy [boo-koo-reo-um] but understandable. I'd think that I'd better focus on the lecture.
	Talk now	hey, we got to talk later	Hey, we shall focus on the lecture.
	Talk later	friends: the prof only pointed at me :(... I know it could happen, but felt it's not fair... well but I know it was my fault anyway	I got pointed out during the lecture because ** and I were talking.
Exam			
	Initial feeling	I don't feel good. But I come to think there was nothing I could do except studying harder.	Embarrassing [whang-dang]. What has happened? I ponder. I decide whether to ask for re-evaluation or accept it depending on the situation.
	Talk now	NA	NA
	Talk later	well, I thought the test was okay, but it turned out I messed it up	I thought I did well but it turned out I messed it up.
Photo			
	Initial feeling	I feel connected to the feelings/emotions I shared with the friend at the event while I feel ashamed.	Shy [boo-koo-reo-um]. I think I am ugly.
	Talk now	Look at me, I think I had too much fun. Hey I kinda want to untag my pic from your fb. Would you mind?	It causes humidity in my eyeballs. Untag me / I'll untag (myself).
	Talk later	NA	NA
Dinner			

Appendix B-1

	Initial feeling	If there was no special emotions attached to the (supposedly?) guy, I would be just happy to see him again on my fb.	If her date is male and he is trying to cross the line when there is nothing to share or in common between him and me, it's embarrassing [whang-dang]. I think my friend is meeting someone not nice. I'd react to him at the minimum level or do not give any reaction. At the same time, I'd pay attention to my friend and do not hide what happened to me. If I feel that there was something to share (between him and me), interests or something at the moment, hence it was not because I was attractive, I'd enjoy it and feel like I now have another friend. I think we shall stay good friends not crossing the line. (Same when her date is female.)
	Talk now	(To friend) ** is your boyfriend interested in this ** (topic?) He said blah blah on my fb.	(To friend) Your date seems to be very interested in this and that.
		(To friend's date) Hey, ya ***** (agree/disagree on his comment). I wouldn't say anything if he did not leave any comments on my blog/fb.	(To friend's date) Male: answering regarding the contents of the conversation (I will reduce unnecessary communication either in terms of the contents or emotions. Or I include my friend so that we three talk together.) Female: Will gladly become friends.
	Talk later	(Unless it is necessary, I would normally find no reason to talk about the matter to anyone.)	Mum, **'s boyfriend does this and that. A bit strange?
Break			
	Initial feeling	Ooooops I made a mistake! I would be worried if I broke something important.	Important goods: Embarrassed [dang-whang] and embarrassed [hwang-dang]. / Unimportant goods: It could happen. Depending on the circumstance, I might not talk to others and ignore the situation.
	Talk now	What shall I do? I broke ***	I was using ** and broke it.
	Talk later	I would easily talk about the situation to ppl around in order to lower the anxieties or panics (?) that I've gone through.	To the maintenance staff or responsible person: I was doing this and that and ** is broken like this. I tried to fix it but it's not going well. Are there any ways to fix it?

Appendix B-1

Volunteer		
Initial feeling	I would feel exploited by the host organization/person while I feel more connected to the people who would purely need my help.	Overwhelmed and I'd experience guilt [ja-goi-gam] for receiving nothing back after doing things for others only. Nonetheless, if there's anyone who feels happy because of me, I'd be happy for that part.
Talk now	I am working here for *** ppl, not the host organization/ceo.	Too much work.
Talk later	I am going to work here only until my contract ends. The host org./ ceo is exploiting volunteers.	There is too much work but I feel like I'm needed. Hence, I really have no idea what to do :((If it's an important thing, I'll keep doing it but whining as well.)

Appendix B-2

Appendix B-2

UK02's target word comparison in English and Korean

		English	Korean
Lecture			
	Initial feeling	Embarrassed. Indignant. Frustrated.	Ashamed [jjok-pal-lim] and angry
	Talk now	(To friend) I told you not to talk to me. Why didn't you get in trouble?	(To friend) Hey, don't talk to me.
		(To professor) Sorry	(To professor) I'm sorry, professor.
	Talk later	Man, it's so annoying I got into trouble in class because someone was talking to me.	Ark. I'm so mad. I was in trouble because of my friend. Ashamed [jjok-pal-lim]
Exam			
	Initial feeling	Frustrated, disappointed, embarrassed, confused	sad, embarrassed [dang-whang], and ashamed [boo-koo-reo-um]
	Talk now	NA	NA
	Talk later	NA	NA
Photo			
	Initial feeling	Slightly embarrassed but not a big deal	Ashamed [boo-koo-reo-um] and angry because s/he uploaded without a permission.
	Talk now	Get the pictures off Facebook	Get the pictures off quickly
	Talk later	NA	How could s/he upload someone else's picture without a permission?
Blame			
	Initial feeling	Indignant. Frustrated.	I feel guilty [joi-check-gam]. Ashamed [boo-koo-reo-um] and sorry
	Talk now	I'm so sorry about this. I'll try to get this straight.	I'm very sorry. I will talk to the boss.
	Talk later	This is my fault boss not his. Sorry about this	Boss, it was my mistake. I am sorry. My colleague did not do anything wrong.
Bonus			
	Initial feeling	Pleased but a little bit worried	sad, embarrassed [dang-whang], and ashamed [boo-koo-reo-um]
	Talk now	Thank you for the bonus but may I ask why only I got it?	Ashamed [boo-koo-reo-um] and angry because s/he uploaded without a permission
	Talk later	Guys I'll ask the boss and sort things out	Get the pictures off quickly